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THE
WORKS
OF

Mr. JONATHAN RICHARDSON.

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Pr

T H E
W O R K S
O F
Mr. JONATHAN RICHARDSON.

- CONSISTING OF
- I. THE THEORY OF PAINTING.
 - II. ESSAY ON THE ART OF CRITICISM,
so far as it relates to PAINTING.
 - III. THE SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

All corrected and prepared for the Press
By his SON Mr. J. RICHARDSON.

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T O

Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS,

President of the Royal Academy,

A N D

Fellow of the Royal Society.

S I R,

A New and improved Edition of
the Works of JONATHAN
RICHARDSON cannot be inscribed
with

DEDICATION.

with so much Propriety to any Body
as to you.

The Author has in his THEORY
of PAINTING discoursed with great
Judgment on the Excellences of this
divine Art, and recommended the
Study of it with a Warmth ap-
proaching to Enthufiasm. His Ideas
are noble, and his Observations
learned. I am emboldened to say
this from a Conversation which I
had

DEDICATION.

had the Honour to have with you
on this Subject.

Had RICHARDSON lived to see the
inimitable Productions of your Pen-
cil, he would have congratulated
his Country on the Prospect of a
School of Painting likely to contend
succesfully with those of Italy.

At the same Time he would have
confessed that your admirable Dis-
courses

DEDICATION.

courses would have rendered his own
Writings less necessary.

I am, with the greatest Respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient and obliged

Humble Servant,

M A Y 4,
1773.

The E D I T O R.

(i)

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

S E C O N D E D I T I O N

O F T H E

E S S A Y

O N T H E

T H E O R Y O F P A I N T I N G .

THIS book being out of print,
and a new Edition desired, I have
retouched it: The publick did forgive
the incorrectnesses of an author that was
endeavouring to serve them, together
with a noble, useful, and delightful art,

a

but

but who pretends only to write as a painter and a gentleman; this indulgence however has not encouraged me to let any faults pass that I have now observed, so that I hope their number is somewhat diminished; and I must do myself the right to say that I have had the pleasure of finding I had nothing to retract; which I should not have failed to have done had I discovered any wrong judgment.

I have made several additions, particularly of some examples from pictures which I had not seen when I first wrote, or which did not then occur to me; more might have been added, but that they are to be found in great plenty scattered up and down in the other discourses I have published since the * first Edition of this.

* They are inserted in this collection.

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The chapter of the sublime was then but entered upon, and recommended to some other hand: I have now attempted something upon that noble branch of my subject, still wishing however that one more capable of it would do it better; but this I have done that I might perfect the whole design as well as I could. And for the same reason, and because I find there is more occasion for it than I thought heretofore, I will take this opportunity a little to prosecute what I have sometimes only touched, which is, to combat a false taste, and a very low one; a taste so false, and so low, as to imagine the meanest parts of painting to be the whole, or the perfection of it.

The great business of painting I have often said, and would fain inculcate, is

to relate a history or a fable, as the best historians or poets have done; to make a portrait so as to do justice at least, and sometimes not without a little complaisance; and this to the mind, as well as to the face and person; to represent nature, or rather the best of nature; and, where it can be done, to raise and improve it; to give all the grace and dignity the subject naturally presents, all that a well instructed eye can discover in it, or which such a judgment can find it is capable of in its most advantageous moments.

Neatness and high finishing; a light, bold pencil; gay and vivid colours, warm and sombrous; force and tenderness; all these are excellencies when judiciously employed, and in subserviency to the principal

P R E F A C E. v

principal end of the art; but they are beauties of an inferior kind, even when so employed; they are the mechanical parts of painting, and require no more genius or capacity, than is necessary to, and frequently seen in ordinary workmen; and a picture, in this respect, is as a snuff-box, a fan, or any other toy; these properties are, in painting, as language, rhyme, and numbers are in poetry: and as he that stops at these, as at what constitute the excellence of a poem is a bad critick, he is an ill connoisseur who has the same consideration for these inferior excellencies in a picture.

—————Neque enim concludere verbum

Dixeris, esse satis—————

Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior.—————

HOR.

How much more if, for the sake of these, a picture is esteemed where the story is ill told, and nature is ill represented, or not well chosen: If it be imagined to be good, because a piece of lace or brocade, a fly, a flower, a wrinkle, a wart, is highly finished, and (if you please) natural, and well in its kind; or because the colours are vivid, or the lights and shadows strong, though the essential parts are without grace or dignity, or are even ridiculous.

And still more if, though there is seen much labour, not those trifles themselves are well, and the rest is execrable.

Carlo Maratti, in a very capital drawing I have seen, (amongst many others)
in

in the collection of Mr. Davenant *, has represented Painting; it is, indeed, a sort of treatise on the art; there is perspective, geometry and anatomy, each with the motto, 'Tanto che basti;' antique statues with this, 'Non mai a bastanza;' over all, the graces descending in clouds, the motto here is 'Senza di noi ogni fatica è vana.'

A fine thought, grace and dignity, will abundantly atone for the want of even a due application to the lesser, to the mechanical parts of a picture; but when these are only, or chiefly regarded,

* It is now in that truly noble one of the duke of Devonshire, where the expence itself, though worthy of such a fortune, doth not equal the taste in the constant choice of the most capital, as well as of the best and purest stile of every master.

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it puts one in mind of what Hudibras
says of his fanaticks

Who with more zeal kept holiday
The wrong, than others the right way.

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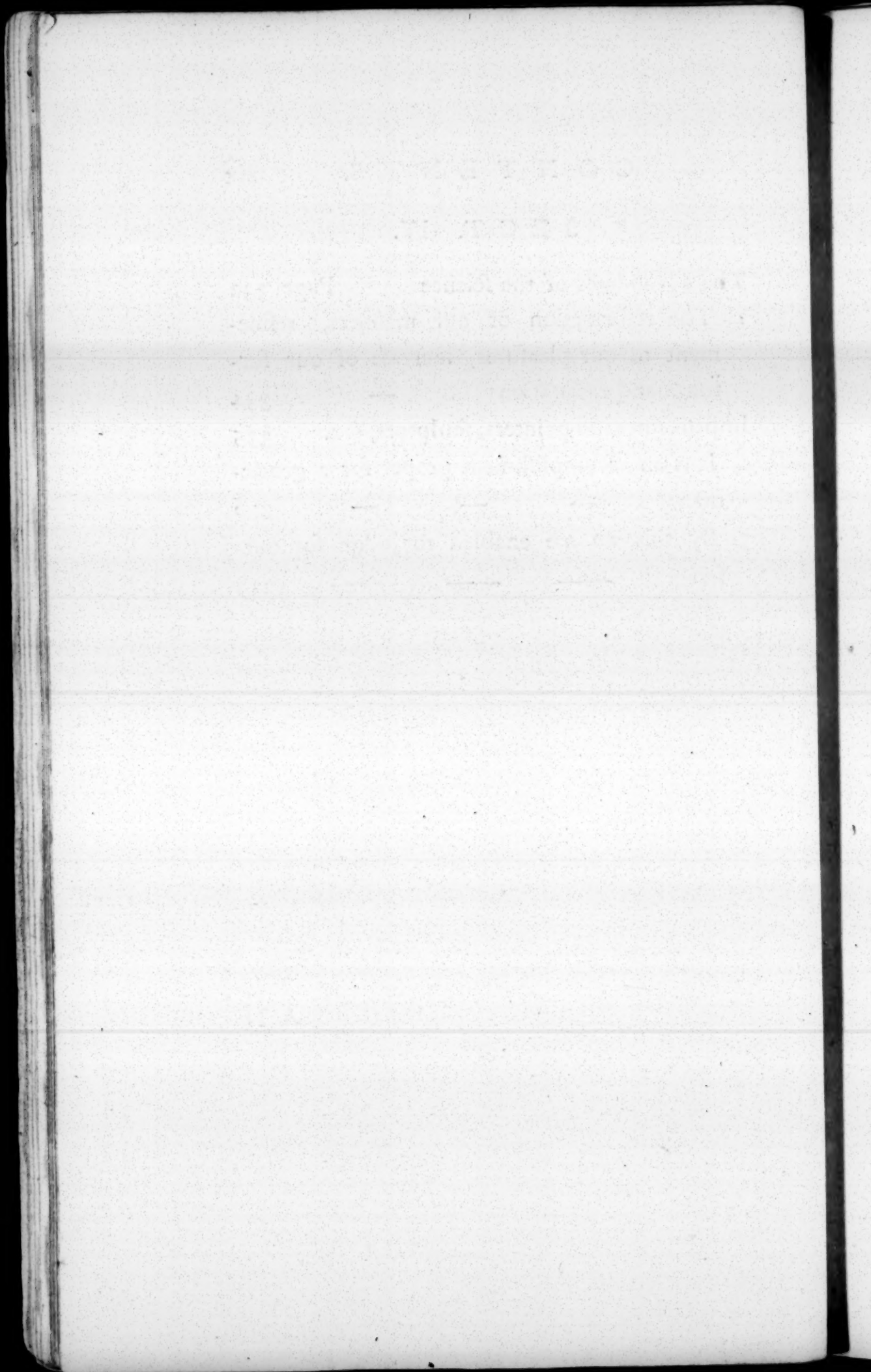
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A N



A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
T H E O R Y O F P A I N T I N G.

BECAUSE pictures are universally delightful, and accordingly made one part of our ornamental furniture, many, I believe, consider the art of painting but as a pleasing superfluity; at best, that it holds but a low rank with respect to its usefulness to mankind.

If there were in reality no more in it than an innocent amusement; if it were only one of those sweets that the divine providence has bestowed on us, to render the good of our present being superior to the evil of it, it ought to be considered as a bounty from heaven, and to hold a place in our esteem accordingly. Pleasure, however it be depreciated, is what we all eagerly and incessantly pursue; and when innocent, and consequently a divine benefaction, it is to be considered in that view, as an ingredient in human life, which the supreme wisdom has judged necessary.

2 THEORY OF PAINTING.

Painting is that pleasant, innocent amusement. But it is more; it is of great use, as being one of the means whereby we convey our ideas to each other, and which in some respects has the advantage of all the rest. And thus it must be ranked with these, and accordingly esteemed not only as an enjoyment, but as another language, which completes the whole art of communicating our thoughts; one of those particulars which raises the dignity of human nature so much above the brutes; and which is the more considerable, as being a gift bestowed but upon a few even of our own species.

Words paint to the imagination, but every man forms the thing to himself in his own way: language is very imperfect: there are innumerable colours and figures for which we have no name, and an infinity of other ideas which have no certain words universally agreed upon as denoting them; whereas the painter can convey his ideas of these things clearly, and without ambiguity; and what he says every one understands in the sense he intends it.

And this is a language that is universal; men of all nations hear the poet, moralist, historian, divine, or whatever other character the painter assumes, speaking to them in their own mother tongue.

Painting has another advantage over words; and that is, it pours ideas into our minds, words only drop them. The whole scene opens at one view, whereas the other way lifts up the curtain by little and little. We see (for example) the fine prospect at Constantinople, an eruption of mount *Ætna*, the death of Socrates, the battle of *Blenheim*, the person of king Charles the first, &c. in an instant.

Segnius

THEORY OF PAINTING.

3

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, & quæ
Ipse sibi tradit spectator. — HOR. Ar. Poet.

The theatre gives us representations of things different from both these, and a kind of composition of both: there we see a sort of moving, speaking pictures, but these are transient; whereas painting remains, and is always at hand. And what is more considerable, the stage never represents things truly, especially if the scene be remote, and the story ancient. A man that is acquainted with the habits and customs of antiquity, comes to revive or improve his ideas relating to the misfortune of Oedipus, or the death of Julius Cæsar, and finds a sort of fantastical creatures, the like of which he never met with in any statue, bas-relief, or medal; his just notions of these things are all contradicted and disturbed. But painting shews us these brave people as they were in their own genuine greatness and noble simplicity.

The pleasure that painting, as a dumb art, gives us, is like what we have from musick; its beautiful forms, colours and harmony, are to the eye what sounds, and the harmony of that kind are to the ear; and in both we are delighted in observing the skill of the artist in proportion to it, and our own judgment to discover it. It is this beauty and harmony which gives us so much pleasure at the sight of natural pictures, a prospect, a fine sky, a garden, &c. and the copies of these, which renew the ideas of them, are consequently pleasant: thus we see spring, summer and autumn, in the depth of winter; and frost and snow, if we please, when the dog-star rages. By the help of this art we have the pleasure of seeing a vast

variety of things and actions, of travelling by land or water, of knowing the humours of low life without mixing with it, of viewing tempests, battles, inundations; and, in short, of all real or imagined appearances in heaven, earth, or hell; and this as we sit at our ease, and cast our eye round a room: we may ramble with delight from one idea to another, or fix upon any as we please. Nor do we barely see this variety of natural objects, but in good pictures we always see nature improved, or at least the best choice of it. We thus have nobler and finer ideas of men, animals, landscapes, &c. than we should perhaps have ever had; we see particular accidents and beauties which are rarely or never seen by us; and all this is no inconsiderable addition to the pleasure.

And thus we see the persons and faces of famous men, the originals of which are out of our reach, as being gone down with the stream of time, or in distant places: and thus too we see our relations and friends, whether living or dead, as they have been in all the stages of life. In picture we never die, never decay, or grow older.

But when we come to consider this art as it informs the mind, its merit is raised; it still gives pleasure, but it is not merely such; the painter now is not only what a wise orator who is a beautiful person, and has a graceful action is to a deaf man, but what such a one is to an understanding audience.

And thus painting not only shews us how things appear, but tells us what they are; we are informed of countries, habits, manners, arms, buildings, civil and military, animals, plants, minerals; and, in fine, of all kinds of bodies whatsoever.

This

THEORY OF PAINTING. 5

This art is moreover subservient to many other useful sciences; it gives the architect his models; to physicians and surgeons the texture and forms of all the parts of human bodies, and of all the phænomena of nature. All mechanicks stand in need of it. But 'tis not necessary to enlarge here; the many explanatory prints in books, and without which those books would in a great measure be unintelligible, sufficiently shew the usefulness of this art to mankind.

I pretend not to go regularly through all particulars, or here, or elsewhere throughout this whole undertaking to say all that is to be said on this subject; I write as the scraps of time I can allow myself to employ this way will permit me; and I write for my own diversion, and my son's improvement, (who well deserves all the assistance I can give, though he needs it as little as most young men; to whom I must do this farther justice, as to own, that I am beholden to him in my turn for some considerable hints in this undertaking.) And if moreover what I write may hereafter happen to be of use to any body else, whether it be to put a lover of art in a method to judge of a picture, (and which in most things a gentleman may do altogether as well as a painter) or to awaken some useful hints in some of my own profession; at least to persuade such to do no dishonour to it by a low or vicious behaviour; if these consequences happen, it will be a satisfaction to me over and above. But to return, and to come to what is most material.

Painting gives us not only the persons, but the characters of great men. The air of the head, and the mien in general, give strong indications of the mind, and illustrate what the historian says more

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exprefsly, and particularly. Let a man read a character in my lord Clarendon, (and certainly never was there a better painter in that kind) he will find it improved by feeing a picture of the fame perfon by Vandyke. Painting relates the histories of paff, and prefent times, the fables of the poets, the allegories of moralifts, and the good things of religion; and confequently a picture, befides its being a pleafant ornament, befides that it is ufeful to improve and inftruct us, is greatly instrumental to excite proper fentiments and reflections, as a history, a poem, a book of ethicks, or divinity is: the truth is, they mutually affift one another.

By reading, or difcourfe, we learn fome particulars which we cannot have otherwife; and by painting we are taught to form ideas of what we read; we fee thofe things as the painter faw them, or has improved them with much care and application; and if he be a Raphael, a Giulio Romano, or fome fuch great genius, we fee them better than any one of an inferior character can, or even than one of their equals, without that degree of reflection they had made, poffibly could. After having read Milton, one fees nature with better eyes than before, beauties appear which elfe had been unregarded: fo by converfing with the works of the beft mafters in painting, we form better images whilft we are reading, or thinking. I fee the divine airs of Raphael when I read any history of our Saviour; and the awful ones he gives the apoftles, when I read of their actions; and conceive of thofe actions, that he and other great men describe, in a nobler manner than otherwife I fhould ever have done. When I think of the ftory of the Decii, or that of the three hundred
Lacede-

Lacedemonians at Thermopylæ, I see them with such faces and attitudes, as Michel Angelo, or Giulio Romano would have given them; and Venus and the Graces I see of the hand of Parmeggiano; and so of other subjects.

And if my ideas are raised, the sentiments excited in my mind will be proportionably improved. So that supposing two men perfectly equal in all other respects, only, that one is conversant with the works of the best masters (well chosen as to their subjects) and the other not; the former shall, necessarily, gain the ascendant, and have nobler ideas, more love to his country, more moral virtue, more faith, more piety and devotion than the other; he shall be a more ingenious, and a better man.

To come to portraits; the picture of an absent relation, or friend, helps to keep up those sentiments which frequently languish by absence, and may be instrumental to maintain, and sometimes to augment friendship, and paternal, filial, and conjugal love, and duty:

Upon the sight of a portrait, the character, and master-strokes of the history of the person it represents are apt to flow in upon the mind, and to be the subject of conversation: so that to fit for one's picture, is to have an abstract of one's life written, and published, and ourselves thus consigned over to honour, or infamy*. I know not what influence this has, or may have, but me-

* Charles V. seeing, in the church-yard of a monastery, a magnificent monument of a certain Spanish lady, who, in her time, had laboured for nothing less than good report, said these words to the prior of the convent; 'Is it not enough, father, that this poor lady hath done publick penance for four hundred years? take her away, and hide her in some bye place, where her infamy may die after her.'—Ant. de vera, vida de Carlos V.

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thinks it is rational to believe that pictures of this kind are subservient to virtue; that men are excited to imitate the good actions, and persuaded to shun the vices of those whose examples are thus set before them; useful hints must certainly be frequently given, and frequently improved into practice: and why should we not also believe, that considering the violent thirst of praise which is natural, especially in the noblest minds, and the better sort of people, they that see their pictures are set up as monuments of good, or evil fame, are often secretly admonished by the faithful friend in their own breasts to add new graces to them by praise-worthy actions, and to avoid blemishes, or deface what may have happened, as much as possible, by a future good conduct. A flattering mercenary hand may represent my face with a youth, or beauty, which belongs not to me, and which I am not one jot the younger, or the handsomer for, though I may be a just subject of ridicule for desiring, or suffering such flattery: but I myself must lay on the most durable colours, my own conduct gives the boldest strokes of beauty, or deformity.

I will add but one article more in praise of this noble, delightful, and useful art, and that is this; the treasure of a nation consists in the pure productions of nature, or those managed, or put together, and improved by art: now there is no artificer whatsoever that produces so valuable a thing from such inconsiderable materials of nature's furnishing, as the painter; putting the time (for that also must be considered as one of those materials) into the account: it is next to creation. This country is many thousand of pounds the richer for Vandyke's hand, whose works are

as current money as gold in most parts of Europe, and this with an inconsiderable expence of the productions of nature; what a treasure then have all the great masters here, and elsewhere given to the world!

It is nothing to the purpose to say, by way of objection to all this, that the art has also been subservient to impiety, and immorality; I own it has; but am speaking of the art itself, and not the abuse of it: a misfortune to it in common with other excellent things of all kinds, poetry, musick, learning, religion, &c.

Thus painters, as well as historians, poets, philosophers, divines, &c. conspire in their several ways to be serviceable to mankind; but not with an equal degree of merit, if that merit is to be estimated according to the talents requisite to excel in any of these professions.

* But (by the way) it is not every picture-maker that ought to be called a painter, as every rimer, or grubstreet tale-writer is not a poet, or historian: a painter ought to be a title of dignity, and understood to imply a person endued with such excellencies of mind, and body, as have ever been the foundations of honour amongst men.

He that paints a history well, must be able to write it; he must be thoroughly informed of all things relating to it, and conceive it clearly, and nobly in his mind, or he can never express it upon the canvas: he must have a solid judgment, with

* ——— Neque enim concludere versum
Dixeris esse fati; neque si qui scribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.
Ingenium cui fit, cui mens divinator, atque os
Magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem.

HOR. SAT. 4. V. 41.

a lively

a lively imagination, and know what figures, and what incidents ought to be brought in, and what every one should say, and think. A painter therefore of this class must possess all the good qualities requisite to an historian *; unless it be language (which however seldom fails of being beautiful, when the thing is clearly, and well conceived.) But all this is not sufficient to him, he must moreover know the forms of the arms, the habits, customs, buildings, &c. of the age, and country, in which the thing was transacted, more exactly than the other needs to know them. And as his business is not to write the history of a few years, or of one age, or country, but of all ages, and all nations, as occasion offers, he must have a proportionable fund of ancient and modern learning of all kinds.

As to paint a history, a man ought to have the main qualities of a good historian, and something more; he must yet go higher, and have the talents requisite to a good poet †; the rules for the conduct of a picture being much the same with those to be observed in writing a poem; and painting, as well as poetry, requiring an elevation of genius beyond what pure historical narration does; the painter must imagine his figures to think, speak, and act, as a poet should do in a tragedy, or epick poem; especially if his subject be a fable, or an allegory. If a poet has moreover the care of the diction, and versification, the painter has a task perhaps at least equivalent to that, after he has well conceived the thing, (over and above what is meerly mechanical,

* ————Cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

HOR. A. P. 40.

† Ut pictora poesis. HOR. A. P.

and

and other particulars, which shall be spoken to presently) and that is, the knowledge of the nature, and effects of colours, lights, shadows, reflections, &c. And as his business is not to compose one Iliad, or one Æneid only, but perhaps many, he must be furnished with a vast stock of poetical, as well as historical learning.

Besides all this, it is absolutely necessary to a history-painter that he understand anatomy, osteology, geometry, perspective, architecture, and many other sciences which the historian, or poet, has no occasion to know.

He must moreover not only see, but thoroughly study the works of the most excellent masters in painting, and sculpture, ancient, and modern; for though some few have gone vast lengths in the art by the strength of their own genius, without foreign assistance, these are prodigies, the like success is not ordinarily to be expected; nor have even these done what probably they would have done with the advantages the study of other mens works would have given them. I leave Vasari and Bellori * to dispute whether Raphael was beholden to Michael Angelo's works for the greatness of his style, but that he improved upon his coming to Rome, and made advantages from what he saw there is incontestable †. Nor am I certain that Coregio saw the S. Cecilia of Raphael at Bologna, as has been asserted; but that he would have been the better for it if he had seen that, and other works of that master, I can easily believe.

* See Bellori, descrizione delle magini depinte da Raphaele nelle camere del vaticano. p. 86, &c.

† See a dissertation on this question, published by Mons. Crotat,

To be a good face-painter, a degree of the historical, and poetical genius is requisite, and a great measure of the other talents, and advantages which a good history-painter must possess: nay some of them, particularly colouring, he ought to have in greater perfection than is absolutely necessary for a history-painter.

It is not enough to make a tame, insipid resemblance of the features, so that every body shall know whom the picture was intended for, nor even to make the picture what is often said to be prodigious like: (this is often done by the lowest of face-painters, but then it is ever with the air of a fool, and an unbred person;) a portrait-painter must understand mankind, and enter into their characters, and express their minds as well as their faces: and as his business is chiefly with people of condition, he must think as a gentleman, and a man of sense, or it will be impossible to give such their true, and proper resemblances.

But if a painter of this kind is not obliged to take in such a compass of knowledge as he that paints history, and that the latter upon some accounts is the nobler employment, upon others the preference is due to the portrait-painter; and the peculiar difficulties such a one has to encounter will perhaps balance what he is excused from. He is chiefly concerned with the noblest, and most beautiful part of human nature, the face; and is obliged to the utmost exactness. The historical painter is allowed vast liberties; if he is to give life, and greatness, and grace to his figures, and the airs of his heads, he may chuse what faces, and figures he pleases; but the other must give all that (in some degree at least) to subjects where it is not always to be found; and must find, or make
variety

variety in much narrower bounds than the historian has to range in.

Add to all this, that the works of the portrait-painter must be seen in all the periods of beginning, and progress, as well when finished, as when they are not, oftener than when they are fit to be seen, and yet judged of, and criticised upon, as if the artist had given his last hand to them, and by all sorts of people; nor is he always at liberty to follow his own judgment. He is moreover frequently disappointed, obliged to wait till the vigour of his fancy is gone off, and to give over when it is strong, and lively. These things, and several others which I forbear to mention, oftentimes try a man's philosophy, and complaisance, and add to the merit of him that succeeds in this kind of painting.

A painter must not only be a poet, an historian, a mathematician, &c. he must be a mechanick, his hand, and eye, must be as expert as his head is clear, and lively, and well stored with science: he must not only write a history, a poem, a description, but in a fine character; his brain, his eye, his hand, must be busied at the same time. He must not only have a nice judgment to distinguish betwixt things nearly resembling one another, but not the same, (which he must have in common with those of the noblest professions;) but he must moreover have the same delicacy in his eyes to judge of the tincts of colours which are of infinite variety; and to distinguish whether a line be straight, or curved a little; whether this is exactly parallel to that, or oblique, and in what degree; how this curved line differs from that, if it differs at all, of which he must also judge; whether what he has drawn is of the same magnitude with what
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he pretends to imitate, and the like; and must have a hand exact enough to form these in his work, answerable to the ideas he has taken of them.

An author must think, but it is no matter what character he writes, he has no care about that, it is sufficient if what he writes be legible: a curious mechanick's hand must be exquisite, but his thoughts are commonly pretty much at liberty; but a painter is engaged in both respects. When the matter is well thought and digested in the mind, a work common to painters and writers, the former hath still behind a vastly greater task than the other, and which to perform well, would alone be a sufficient recommendation to any man who should employ a whole life in attaining it.

And here I must take leave to endeavour to do justice to my profession as a liberal art.

It was never thought unworthy of a gentleman to be master of the theory of painting. On the contrary, if such a one hath but a superficial skill that way, he values himself upon it, and is the more esteemed by others, as one who hath attained an excellency of mind beyond those that are ignorant in that particular. It is strange if the same gentleman should forfeit his character, and commence mechanick, if he added a bodily excellence, and was capable of making, as well as of judging of, a picture. How comes it to pass, that one who thinks as well as any man, but hath moreover a curious hand, should, therefore, be esteemed in a class of men at all inferior? An animal that has the use of hands, and speech, and reason, is the definition of a man: the painter has a language in common with the rest of his species, and one superadded peculiar to himself, and exercises his

his hands, and rational faculties to the utmost stretch of human nature; certainly he is not less honourable for excelling in all the qualities of a man as distinguished from a brute. Those employments are servile, and mechanical, in which bodily strength, or ability, is only, or chiefly required, and that, because in such cases the man approaches more to the brute, or has fewer of those qualities that exalt mankind above other animals; but this consideration turns to the painter's advantage: here is indeed a sort of labour, but what is purely human, and for the conduct of which the greatest force of mind is necessary.

To be employed at all will not sure be thought less honourable than indolence, and inactivity: but perhaps, though a gentleman's painting for his pleasure, without any reward, is not unworthy of him; to make a profession of, and take money for this labour of the head and hand is the dishonourable circumstance, this being a sort of letting himself to hire to whosoever will pay him for his trouble. Very well! and is it more becoming for a man to employ himself so as that he shall thereby be enabled to enjoy more himself, or be more useful to his family, or to whomsoever else he sees fit, than so as it shall turn to less account, or none at all? And as to letting ourselves to hire, we are content to own this is really the case; and if this hath something low, and servile in it, we must take our place amongst men accordingly. But here we have this to comfort us, we have good company, that is, all those who receive money for the exercise of their abilities of body, or mind. And if a man looks abroad in the world he may observe a great many of these; they are in the courts of princes, and of judicature, in camps,
in

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in churches, in conventicles, in the streets, in our houses; they abound every where: some whereof are paid for each particular piece of service they do, and others have yearly salaries, and perquisites, or vails; but this alters not the case.

Nor is it dishonourable for any of us to take money: He that stipulates for a reward for any service he does another, acts as a wise man, and a good member of society: he gives what is pleasant, or useful to another, but considering the depravity of human nature, trusts not to his gratitude, but secures himself a return; and money being in effect every thing that is purchaseable, he takes that, as chusing for himself what pleasure, or conveniency he will have; as he to whom he performs the service also does when he employs him.

Thus painters, as the rest, busy themselves, and make advantage to themselves, as well as to others, of their employments; they let themselves out to hire much alike; and one is a more honourable way than another in proportion to the kind, and degree of abilities they require, and their usefulness to mankind. What rank a painter (as such) is to hold amongst these money-takers I submit to judgment, after what I have said has been considered; and I hope it will appear that they may be placed amongst those whom all the world allow to be gentlemen, or of honourable employments, or professions.

And in fact by the politest people, and in the best ages, past, as well as present, the art has been much esteemed, and painters have lived in great reputation, and some of them with much magnificence: nor have those of the sublimest quality thought them unworthy of considerable additional honours,

honours, and amongst the rest of their conversation, and friendship : of which I might give many instances.

It is true, the word painter does not generally carry with it an idea equal to what we have of other professions, or employments not superior to it ; the reason of which is, that term is appropriated to all sorts of pretenders to the art, which being numerous, and for the most part very deficient, (as it must needs happen, so few having abilities and opportunities equal to such an undertaking) these consequently have fallen into contempt, whether upon account of such deficiency, or the vices, or follies which were in part the occasions; or effects of it; and this being visible in a great majority, it has diminished the idea which ought to be applied to the term I am speaking of; which therefore is a very ambiguous one, and should be considered as such, if it be extended beyond this, that it denotes a person practising such an art, for no body can tell what he ought to conceive farther of the man, whether to rank him amongst some of the meanest, or equal to the most considerable amongst men.

To conclude: to be an accomplished painter, a man must possess more than one liberal art, which puts him upon the level with those that do so, and makes him superior to those that possess but one in an equal degree: he must be also a curious artificer, whereby he becomes superior to one who equally possesses the other talents, but wants that. A Raphael therefore is not only equal, but superior to a Virgil, or a Livy, a Thucydides, or a Homer.

What I now advance may appear chimerical: In that case I only desire it may be considered,

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whether it is not a necessary consequence of what went before, and was, and must be granted. This I also insist upon as my right, if any thing else appears to be exaggerated: for my own part I write as I think.

I thought fit to do justice to the art of painting in the first place; and, before I entered upon the rules to be observed in the conduct of a picture, to tell the painter what qualities he himself ought to have. To which I will add, (but not as the least considerable) that as his profession is honourable, he should render himself worthy of it by excelling in it, and by avoiding all low, and sordid actions, and conversation, all base, and criminal passions: his business is to express great, and noble sentiments; let him make them familiar to him, and his own, and form himself into as bright a character as any he can draw. His art is of a vast extent, and he stands in need of all the time, and all the vigour of body, and mind allowed to human nature; he should take care to husband, and improve these as much as possible by prudence, and virtue: The way to be an excellent painter is to be an excellent man; and these united make a character that would shine even in a better world than this *.

But as a picture may be esteemed a good, and a valuable one, in which all the good qualities of a picture are not to be found, (for that never happens) and those that are, but in a rank short of the

* The excellence of a poet (says Strabo in the fine discourse before his Geography) is of a far other nature than that of an artificer, who aims at nothing that is noble and venerable, but that of a poet is inseparable from that of the man; and never certainly can there be a good heroic or tragic poet, who is not first a good man. See the farther reasons of this wise and judicious writer.

utmost;

utmost; nay, if a picture have but one of them in a considerable degree it is to be valued; painters have a right to the same indulgence, and have had it in past ages, as well as in the present; for whether for their own sakes, or from principles of reason, virtue, good-nature, or whatever other motive the world is not wanting to cherish, and reward merit, though in a narrow compass, and inferior degrees: we have no reason to complain.

Only give me leave to add, that a painter who holds but the second or third rank in his profession, is entitled to an equal degree of esteem with one in the first in another, if to arrive at that inferior station, as many good qualities are requisite as to attain to the highest in that other.

ON THE
ART OF PAINTING.

THE whole ART OF PAINTING consists of these Parts:

INVENTION,
EXPRESSION,
COMPOSITION,
DRAWING,
COLOURING,
HANDLING,

A N D
GRACE AND GREATNESS.

What is meant by these terms, and that they are qualities requisite to the perfection of the art, and really distinct from each other, so that no one of them can be fairly implied by any other, will appear when I treat of them in their order; and this will justify my giving so many parts to painting, which some others who have wrote on it have not done. As to those properties in a picture so much spoken of, such as force, spirit, the understanding of clair-obscur, or whatever other there may be, they will be taken notice of hereafter, as being reducible to some of these principal heads.

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The art in its whole extent being too great to be compassed by any one man in any tolerable degree of perfection, some have applied themselves to paint one thing, and some another: Thus there are painters of history, portraits, landscapes, battles, drolls, still-life, flowers and fruit, ships, &c. but every one of these several kinds of pictures ought to have all the several parts or qualities just now mentioned; though even to arrive at that in any one kind of painting, is beyond the reach of any man. Even in drolls there is a difference; there is a grace and greatness proper to them, which some have more than others. The history painter is obliged oftentimes to paint all these kinds of subjects, and the face painter most of them; but besides that they in such cases are allowed the assistance of other hands, the inferior subjects are in comparison of their figures as the figures in a landscape, there is no great exactness required, or pretended to.

Italy has unquestionably produced the best modern painting, especially of the best kinds, and possessed it in a manner alone, when no other nation in the world had it in any tolerable degree; that was then consequently the great school of painting. About a hundred years ago there were a great many excellent painters in Flanders; but when Vandyke came hither, he brought face painting to us; ever since which time (that is, for above fourscore years) England has excelled all the world in that great branch of the art; and being well stored with the works of the greatest masters, whether paintings or drawings, here being moreover the finest living models, as well as the greatest encouragement, this may justly be esteemed as a complete and the best school for face painting now in the world; and would probably

bably have been yet better, had Vandyke's model been followed: But some painters possibly finding themselves incapable of succeeding in his way, and having found their account in introducing a false taste, others have followed their example; and, forsaking the study of nature, have prostituted a noble art, chusing to exchange the honourable character of good painters for that sordid one of professed, mercenary flatterers; and so much worse than the meanest of those, in that they give under their hands, and to be seen of every body, what those only utter in words, and to those chiefly whom they find weak enough to be their dupes.

As for the other branches of painting, some few of several nations have been excellent in them; as the Borgognone for battles, Michael Angelo the battaglia, and Campadoglio for fruit; father Segers, Mario de' Fiori, and Baptist for flowers; Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorain, and Jasper Pouffin for landscapes; Brower and Hemskerck for drolls; Persellis and Vandewelde for sea-pieces; and several others. But I am not disposed to enlarge on this article.

OF INVENTION.

BEING determined as to the history that is to be painted, the first thing the painter has to do is, to make himself master of it as delivered by historians, or otherwise; and then to consider how to improve it, keeping within the bounds of probability. Thus the antient sculptors imitated nature; and thus the best historians have related their stories. No body can imagine (for example) that Livy, or Thucidides, had direct, express authorities for all the speeches they have given us at length,

length, or even for all the incidents they have delivered to us; but they have made their stories as beautiful and considerable as they could; and this with very good reason, for not only it makes the reading of them the more pleasant, but their relations with such circumstances (keeping still rigorously nice to fact) are sometimes more probably the truth, than when nothing more is supposed to have happened than what they might have had express warrant for. Such an improvement Raphael hath made in the story of our Saviour's directing St. Peter to feed his flock, commonly called the giving him the keys. Our Lord seems, by the relation of the Evangelist (at least a Roman Catholick, as Raphael was, must be supposed to understand it so) to commit the care of his church to that apostle preferably to the rest, upon the supposition of his loving him better than any of the others loved him. Now though the history is silent, it is exceeding probable that St. John, as he was the beloved disciple, would have expected this honour, and be piqued at his being thought to love his Master less than St. Peter: Raphael therefore, in that carton, makes him address himself to our Lord with extream ardour, as if he was intreating him to believe he loved him no less than St. Peter, or any of the other apostles. And this puts the spectator upon imagining some fine speeches that it may be supposed were made on this occasion, whereby Raphael hath given a hint for every man to make a farther improvement, to himself, of this story.

The same liberty of heightening a story is very commonly taken in pictures of the crucifixion; the Virgin is represented as swooning away at the sight,

fight, and St. John and the women with great propriety dividing their concern between the two objects of it, which makes a fine scene, and a considerable improvement; and probably was the truth, though the history says no such thing.

In like manner, when the sacred body was taken from the cross, the Virgin-mother is frequently introduced as swooning away also, when even her being present is not authorized by the sacred history; yet it being very probable that she that could see her son crucified (which the scripture says she did) would see him also after he was dead, it is a liberty the painter not only may, but ought to take.

An improvement much of the same nature is, the angels that are frequently introduced in a nativity, or on other occasions, the noble, though not rich habit of the Virgin, and the like, though perhaps not altogether in the same degree of probability.

But that circumstance of the Virgin-mother being a spectator of the crucifixion of her son, ought not to have been introduced, notwithstanding any advantage it might give the picture, without express warrant from the history, for reasons that are obvious; and the like restrictions are necessary in other such cases.

One instance more of an improvement upon the subject well deserves to be added. I have seen a picture of Albani, a madona, the child is asleep; the subject is a common, a plain one; to heighten it the painter has represented Christ dreaming of his future passion. How is this indicated? By placing just by his head a sort of glass vase, wherein is seen faintly, and as it were by reflection (seen through

through a glass darkly) the cross, and other instruments of his suffering*. This is a beautiful thought, uncommon and delicate, and spreads the imagination much farther than it would otherwise naturally have gone.

As the painter may add to the story for the advantage of it, he may, to improve his picture, leave out some things. I have a drawing of Raphael wherein he hath taken liberties of both these kinds; the story is the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost; (a most amazing event! and worthy to be described by the first painter of the world) the tongues of fire on the heads of the inspired, would have been sufficient to have informed us of the story, and what part the holy spirit had in the affair, and is all that the sacred history relates; but he hath added the dove hovering over all, and casting forth his beams of glory throughout all the void space of the picture over the figures, which gives a wonderful majesty and beauty to the whole. This is the painter's addition. On the other hand, the scripture says there were about one hundred and twenty persons present; the whole number, at that time, of the infant church. Now as the bringing in all these would have made a crowd of insignificant figures, the painter hath contented himself with taking the twelve disciples only, with the Virgin and two other women, as representative of all the rest.

Under the present rule are comprehended all those incidents which the painter invents to enrich his composition; and here, in many cases, he hath a vast latitude; as in a battle, a plague, a fire,

* Though this thought is beautiful, it is not new, for Parmeggiano had taken possession of it in the same subject. See Vasari, Part III. Vol. I. 4to. 236. Ed. Girenti.

the slaughter of the innocents. Raphael has finely imagined some of these (for example) in his picture of the Incendio di Borgo in the Vatican. The story is of a fire of a suburb of Rome miraculously extinguished by St. Leo IV. Because a fire is seldom very great, but when there happens to be a high wind, he has painted such a one, as is seen by the flying of the hair, draperies, and other circumstances that are the consequence of such an accident. There you see a great many instances of distress, and paternal and filial love. I will mention but one, where the story of Æneas and Anchises was thought of; they were already out of the great danger, and the son carries the old man not only as commodiously as possible, but with the utmost care, lest he should stumble or fall with his precious burthen. I refer you to the print, for there is one of this picture.

The same Raphael, in the story of the delivery of St. Peter out of prison (which by the way is finely chosen to compliment his patron Leo X. the then Pope, for it alludes to his imprisonment and enlargement when he was a cardinal legate) hath contrived four several lights, two from the two angels, a third from a torch, and the fourth the moon gives; which being attended with proper reflections, and all perfectly well understood, produce a surprising effect. There are other circumstances finely invented in this picture, for which I refer you to Bellori's description of it. One might give innumerable instances to this purpose, but let these suffice.

A painter is allowed sometimes to depart even from natural and historical truth.

Thus in the carion of the draught of fishes, Raphael has made a boat too little to hold the
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figures he has placed in it; and this is so visible, that some are apt to triumph over that great man, as having nodded on that occasion; which others have pretended to excuse, by saying it was done to make the miracle appear the greater; but the truth is, had he made the boat large enough for those figures his picture would have been all boat, which would have had a disagreeable effect; and to have made his figures small enough for a vessel of that size, would have rendered them unsuitable to the rest of the set, and have made those figures appear less considerable; there would have been too much boat, and too little figure. It is amiss as it is, but would have been worse any other way, as it frequently happens in other cases. Raphael therefore wisely chose this lesser inconvenience, this seeming error, which he knew the judicious would know was none; and for the rest he was above being solicitous for his reputation with them. So that upon the whole, this is so far from being a fault, that it is an instance of the consummate judgment of that incomparable man, which he learned in his great school the antique where this liberty is commonly taken*.

He hath departed from historical truth in the pillars that are at the beautiful gate of the temple;

* In an eminent manner in the Trajan and Antoninian columns, and on many other occasions,* in the finest bas-reliefs. And, to note it by-the-bye, it seems to be a strange rashness and self-sufficiency in a spectator or a reader when he thinks he sees an absurdity in a great author, to take it immediately for granted it is such. Surely it is a most reasonable and just prejudice in favour of a man we have always known to act with wisdom and propriety, on every occasion, to suspend at least our criticism, and cast off illiberal triumph over him; and to suppose it at least possible, that he might have had reasons that we are not aware of.

the imagery is by no means agreeable to the superstition of the Jews at that time, and all along after the captivity. Nor were those kinds of pillars known even in antique architecture, I believe, in any nation; but they are so nobly invented by Raphael, and so prodigiously magnificent, that it would have been a pity if he had not indulged himself in this piece of licentiousness, which undoubtedly he knew to be such.

But these liberties must be taken with great caution and judgment; for in the main historical and natural truth must be observed, the story may be embellished, or something of it pared away, but still so as it may be immediately known; nor must any thing be contrary to nature but upon great necessity and apparent reason. History must not be corrupted, and turned into fable and romance: Every person and thing must be made to sustain its proper character; and not only the story, but the circumstances must be observed, the scene of action, the country or place, the habits, arms, manners, proportions, and the like, must correspond. The story of the woman taken in adultery must not be represented in the open air, but in the temple. When Alexander comes to visit the family of Darius, now his prisoners, they must be seen in the tent of their conquered king; yet Paulo Veronese, from his ignorance in the uniform account in the histories, hath represented them in the open air. If that of the same Alexander coming to Diogenes, and the Cynick desiring him not to deprive him of what he could not give, the light of the sun; I say, if this be painted, the light must not be made to come the contrary way, and Diogenes in the sunbeams. Nor must our Saviour be made to help
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to put himself into his sepulchre as I have seen it represented in a drawing, otherwise a good one. These things are too obvious to need being enlarged on.

Every historical picture is a representation of one single point of time; this then must be chosen; and that in the story which is the most advantageous must be it. Suppose, for instance, the story to be painted is that of the woman taken in adultery; the painter seems to be at liberty to choose whether he will represent the scribes and pharisees accusing her to our Lord; or our Lord writing on the ground; or pronouncing the last of the words, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her; or lastly his absolution, Go thy way, sin no more. The first must be rejected, because in that moment the chief actors in the story are the scribes, and pharisees; it is true, Christ may appear there with the dignity of a judge, but that he does afterwards, and with greater advantage. In the second our Lord is in action; but stooping down, and writing on the ground makes not so graceful, and noble appearance as even the former would have done; nor have we here the best choice of the actions of the accusers; the first, and most vigorous moments of the accusation being already past. When our Saviour says the words, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her; he is the principal actor, and with dignity; the accusers are disappointed, ashamed, confounded, and perhaps clamorous; and the accused in a fine situation, hope, and joy springing up after shame, and fear; all which affords the painter an opportunity of exerting himself, and giving a pleasing variety to the composition; for besides the various passions, and
sentiments

sentiments naturally arising, the accusers begin to disperse, which will occasion a fine contrast in the attitudes of the figures, some being in profile, some fore-right, and some with their backs turned; some pressing forward as if they were attentive to what was said, and some going off: and this I should chuse; for as to the last, though there our Lord pronounces the decisive sentence, and which is the principal action, and of the most dignity in the whole story, yet now there was nobody left but himself, and the woman; the rest were all dropped off one by one, and the scene would be disfurnished.

The picture being to represent but one instant of time, no action must be chosen which cannot be supposed to be doing in that instant. Thus the scribes and pharisees, in the story just now mentioned, must not be accusing when our Lord was speaking; that was then over, and they must appear in that situation which they might be then imagined to be in.

These two last mentioned rules are finely observed by Raphael in his cartons of feed my sheep, and the death of Ananias, to name no more. In the first, the moment is chosen of our Lord's having just spoken, and S. John's addressing himself to speak; and in the other, the instant of Ananias's fall, and before the people were apprised of it; in both which, as they are the most advantageous that could possibly have been imagined, nothing is doing but what might be supposed to be doing at that instant.

I shall observe moreover on the carton of Ananias, that Raphael hath been so scrupulous in the observation of the Unity of Time, that he hath not introduced the death of Sapphira, which
happened

happened immediately after, and was a part of the miraculous event.

It has been attempted to bring a whole series of history into one picture, as that of the prodigal son's going out, his voluptuous way of living, his distrels and return, which I have seen thus represented by Titian; but this is just such a fault as crowding a whole year into one play, which will always be condemned, though done by Shakespear himself.

There must be one principal action in a picture. Whatever under-actions may be going on in the same instant with that, and which it may be proper to insert, in order to illustrate, or amplify the composition, they must not divide the picture, and the attention of the spectator. O divine Raphael! forgive me if I take the liberty to say I cannot approve in this particular of that amazing picture of the transfiguration, where the incidental action of the man's bringing his son possessed with the dumb devil to the disciples, and their not being able to cast him out, is made, at least, as conspicuous, and as much a principal action as that of the transfiguration. This under-story would have made a fine episode to the other (though the other would not properly to this, as being of more dignity than the principal story in this case) but both together mutually hurt one another.

Raphael hath conducted an episode differently on other occasions. In the carton of the death of Ananias, the principal action is that surprising event, and, accordingly, this is what immediately takes the eye, and declares itself to be the subject of the picture; but there are also some people offering money, and others receiving it, who are so intent upon what they are about, as not to seem

seem (at that instant) to know any thing of the matter, though so very interesting. The episode is very just, and agreeable to the history, but by no means comes in competition with the principal action. In a holy family, a picture of the same Raphael, which I have, the Christ, and Virgin are most conspicuously distinguished, and appear with infinite beauty, grace and dignity; but because S. Elizabeth, and S. Joseph should not be idle, or not employed worthily (which is frequently the case in such pictures) he has a book before him as having been reading, and she is speaking to him as assisting his understanding, and he attending to her exposition; (which indeed, to judge by his air, he seems to stand in need of.) This discourse is carried on behind the principal figures, and is an action the most worthy, and proper that could possibly be imagined for these persons, but apparently inferior to that of the principal figures; the Virgin being employed in caressing, sustaining, and taking care of the divine child; and he, with as great dignity as an infant God incarnate can be supposed to do, caressing, and rejoicing with his great mother. Here are two distinct actions, but no manner of distraction, ambiguity, or competition.

Nor must the attention be diverted from what ought to be principal, by any thing how excellent soever in itself. Protogenes in his famous picture of the satyr leaning against a pedestal, on which a partridge was perching, had painted the partridge so exquisitely well, that it seemed a living creature, and was admired by all Greece; but that being most taken notice of, he defaced it entirely. That illustrious action of Mutius Scævola's putting his hand in the fire, after he had,
by

by mistake, killed another instead of Porfenna, is sufficient alone to employ the mind; Polidore therefore in a capital drawing I have of him of that story, (and which by the way was one of his most celebrated works) has left out the dead man; it was sufficiently known that one was killed, but that figure, had it been inserted, would necessarily have diverted the attention, and destroyed that noble simplicity, and unity which now appears.

So in the carton of the death of Ananias, the money, that a moment before had been laid at the Apostle's feet, is not seen for the same reason; for little circumstances must be avoided, if not absolutely necessary.*

Every action must be represented as done, not only as it is possible it might be performed, but in the best manner. In the print after Raphael, engraved by Marc Antonio, you see Hercules gripe Anteus with all the advantage one can wish to have over an adversary: So in the picture designed by Michael Angelo, and painted by Annibale Carracci, the eagle holds Ganymede to carry him up commodiously, and withal to make a beautiful appearance together; the print of which is amongst those of the pictures of duke Leopold. Daniele da Volterra has not succeeded so well in his famous picture of the descent from the cross†, where one of the assistants, who stands upon a ladder drawing out a nail, is so disposed as is not very natural, and convenient for the purpose.

Nor is Raphael himself so just in his conduct of the same story as he usually is; St. John is upon a ladder to assist, and is receiving the body with great affection and tenderness; but it is evi-

* See Strabo, lib. xiv.

† In the church of the Trinita di Monte at Rome.

dent the whole weight of it will fall upon him; which is too much for any one man to manage, especially standing upon a ladder: Nor is there any below to receive the sacred load, or to assist him; so that supposing every figure in the position as Raphael hath represented them, the dead body of our Lord must fall upon the heads of the blessed Virgin, and the women that are with her. The picture is engraved by Marc Antonio.

No supernumerary figures or ornaments ought to be brought into a picture. A painter's language is his pencil, he should neither say too little, nor too much, but go directly to his point, and tell his story with all possible simplicity. As in a play there must not be too many actors, in a picture there must not be too many figures. Annibale Carracci would not allow above twelve; there are exceptions to this rule, but certainly all the management in the world cannot put together a great number of figures and ornaments with that advantage as a few.

Where the story requires that there be a crowd of people, there may be some figures without any particular character, which are not supernumerary, because the story requires a crowd. In the cartons there are very few idle figures: Nor are all those such that may seem to be so; there are two in the carton of St. Paul preaching that are walking at a distance amongst the buildings, but these serve well to intimate that there were some who like Gallio cared for none of these things.

So far should the painter be from inserting any thing superfluous, that he ought to leave something to the imagination. He must not say all he can on his subject, and so seem to distrust his reader, and discover he thought no farther himself.

Nothing

Nothing absurd, indecent, or mean; nothing contrary to religion or morality, must be put into a picture, or even intimated or hinted at. A dog with a bone, at a banquet, where people of the highest characters are at table; a boy making water in the best company, or the like, are faults which the authority of Paulo Veronese*, or a much greater man, cannot justify.

Raphael, in the picture of the donation of Constantine in the Vatican, has put a naked boy astride upon a dog in a void space in the fore-ground: What reason he had for it I cannot comprehend; it seems to be brought in only to fill up that space, which it had been better (at least I think so) to have left empty: But certainly in such company, and on so solemn an occasion as the emperor making a present of Rome to the pope, such a light incident should not have been inserted, much less made so conspicuous.

There is something lower yet, than this, in the carton of giving the keys, which I have often wondered Raphael could fall into, or suffer in his picture; and that is, in the landscape there is a house on fire; and, in another place, linen drying on the hedges.

Polidore, in a drawing I have seen of him, has made an ill choice with respect to decorum; he has shewn Cato with his bowels gushing out, which is not only offensive in itself, but it is a situation in which a great and respectable character should not be seen, although a real and striking circumstance of the history†. Such things should be left to imagination, and not displayed

* Marriage of Canaan.

† ————— quæ
Desperat tractata notescere posse relinquit.—HOR. AR. POET.

on the stage†. But Michael Angelo, in his last judgment, has sinned against this rule most egregiously.

These restrictions being observed, there must be as much variety in the picture as the subject will admit of. In some it is absolutely necessary; as in a sermon, or other address to a multitude, a saint distributing alms, healing, &c. the passions, the attitudes, the conditions, and other circumstances of the people should be varied as much is possible; but naturally, and without affectation. Rembrandt hath succeeded admirably in this, as in several of the other parts of painting in many of his works; particularly in that of our Lord healing the sick. The work is not crowded, but there are seen people of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions; rich and poor, fat and lean, in all the variety of circumstances proper to the subject. And here are not only those that come for cure, some are observing what passes, and, of these, there are friends, enemies, enquirers, scorers, and disputers. But this great genius hath not contented himself with all this; among those that come to be healed there is an Æthiopian of quality that is diseased in his eyes, as appears by a bandage over them; and, in a great measure, even by the attitude of his head, and the set of his mouth; he is attended by servants and beasts of carriage, which add much to the variety I am remarking upon; and all this moreover raises the subject, by shewing how far the fame of Jesus, and the wonders he performed was spread; and what credit was given to those relations in countries far distant. I might have given examples to my pur-

† ————— Non tamen intus
Digna geri promes in scenam.—HOR. AR. Poet.

pose from the works of several other masters, but I made choice of this, not only as being at least equally remarkable with the best I could have found, but to do justice to one, who though he hath excelled most others in some of the parts of painting not the least considerable, yet having wanted (generally, not always) grace and greatness, and adhering to common nature, common to him, who conversed not with the best, his surprising beauties are overlooked in a great measure, and lost with most, even lovers of painting, and connoisseurs*.

Methinks it would not be amiss, if a painter, before he made the least drawing of his intended picture, would take the pains to write the story, and give it all the beauty of description, with an account of what is said, and whatever else he would relate, were he only to make a written history; or if he would describe the picture he designed as if it were already done. And though perhaps it may seem at first to be too much trouble, it may in the main save him some, as well as advance his reputation.

There are pictures representing not one particular story, but the history of philosophy, of poetry, of divinity, the redemption of mankind, and the like: Such is the school of Athens, the Parnassus, the picture in the Vatican, commonly called the dispute of the sacrament, all of Raphael; and the large one of Federico Zuccaro of the annunciation, and God the father, with a hea-

* This was written before Rembrandt came into the immense reputation which he then justly possessed; and which is, surely, in some measure, owing to my father's frequent mention of him, as well as here, with admiration and fondness.

ven, the prophets, &c. † Such compositions as these, being of a different nature, are not subject to the same rules with common historical pictures; but here must be principal, and subordinate figures, and actions; as the Plato and Aristotle in the school of Athens, the Apollo in the Parnassus, &c.

Now I have mentioned this design, I cannot pass it over without going a little out of my way to observe some particulars of that admirable group of the three poets, Homer, Virgil, and Dante; (for I consider it as it is in the print engraved by Marc Antonio: In the painting Raphael has put himself with them; besides, that it is different in several other things.) ‡

The figure of Homer is an admirable one, and managed with great propriety: He is grouped with others, but is nevertheless alone: He appears to be raised in contemplation, repeating some of his own sublime verses, which he does with a most becoming action; and that peculiarity of his works having been taken from his mouth, as he happened to utter them, and so remembered and written, and afterwards the scattered parts collected and connected together, and formed into the volumes we have, is finely intimated by a young man attending to him, and ready to write what he says.

Behind this great, this only man, stands Virgil and Dante, the former directing the other to Apollo: This is a compliment Raphael has made to Dante, by whose direction he has done this; for in his first canto of hell he says,

O de

† See the print of Cornelius Cort in two sheets.

‡ See Bellori's description of the pictures of Raphael in the Vatican, p. 25.

O de gli altri poeti honore e lume,
 Vagliami il lungo studio, el grande amore
 Che mha fatto cercar lo tuo volume
 Tu sei lo mio maestro, el mio autore;
 Tu sei solo colui, da cui io tolsi
 Lo bello stilo, che mha fatto honore.

In the same canto he makes Virgil say,
 Ond io per lo tuo me penso e discerno,
 Che tu me segui; & io farò tua guida.

Soon after Dante says,
 Et io a lui; poeta io ti richieggo
 Per quello dio——
 Che tu mi meni, &c,

And ends the canto,
 Allhor si mossè; & io li tenni dietro.

But Raphael has made his beloved Dante still a greater compliment, in placing him with Homer and Virgil; for though he was an excellent poet, his was another, and a very inferior kind of poetry: This too Raphael did by Dante's own direction, in his fourth canto of hell:

Così vidi adunar la bella scola;
 Di quei signor de l'altissimo canto;
 Che sovra gli altri, com' aquila uola.
 Da chebbèr ragionato insieme alquanto;
 Volserfi a me con saluteuol cenno;
 El mio maestro sorrise di tanto:
 E più d'honore ancor affai mi fenno:
 Ch'essi mi fecer de la loro schiera.

It appears that Raphael was fond of Dante; for besides what he hath done here, he hath put him amongst the divines in his dispute of the sacrament, to which he had very little pretence;

besides that, he calls the three parts of his poem, hell, purgatory, and paradise. To return.

In pictures representing the character of some person, if that person is in the picture, it is the principal figure; if not, the virtue he is intended to be chiefly celebrated for, as the principal part of the character, is it.

In those of human life, or where some particular lesson is to be taught, or the like, that which a writer would chiefly insist upon is to be the principal figure, or group.

In all these kinds of pictures the painter should avoid too great a luxuriance of fancy and obscurity. The figures representing any virtue, vice, or other quality, should have such insignia as are authorized by antiquity and custom; or if any be necessarily of his own invention, his meaning should be apparent. Painting is a sort of writing, it ought to be easily legible. There are fine examples of these in the palace of Chigi, or the little Farnese in Rome: Raphael has there painted the fable of Cupid and Psyche, and intermixed little loves with the spoils of all the gods; and lastly, one with a lion and a sea-horse, which he governs as with a bridle, to shew the universal empire of love. Bellori hath a fine poetical description in the book above cited, p. 64; and Dorigny has made prints of the whole work.

Innumerable examples of these kinds of representations might be given from the works of the ancients and moderns, the former especially; and the iconologia of Ripa is a large collection of such, which therefore I will not enlarge upon; only there is one important instance that ought not to be passed over, which is that of the true God.

Perhaps

Perhaps the best way is to leave it to contemplation, without imagining any form whatsoever. Rubens in a drawing I have has done this finely; angels are hovering on the wing, and seem to be rejoicing at something that has happened below (I suppose it was intended for the upper part of the picture of the nativity): Above these appears a great glory, and multitudes of cherubims not regarding what the angels are intent upon, but looking stedfastly upwards, as if the deity was there in a peculiar manner; and as these ways of leaving much to the imagination have great advantages in the vast compass that is given, one may also suppose he is approaching to honour the event in the lower part of the picture.

But the usual way of representing God is by a human form. I will not enter into the question, whether this should be done at all, or no, because our church disapproves of it; but certainly those that do undertake thus to delineate God, ought to strain their utmost powers to give him the greatest dignity they possibly can. This Raphael was as capable of as ever man was; but Raphael hath not always been equal to himself in this particular, for sometimes the figure appears to be not only as one would describe the ancient of days, but feeble and decrepid. Giulio Romano in a drawing I have of him of the delivery of the law to Moses hath avoided this fault, but fallen into another; he has made the face of a beautiful, vigorous old man, but (what one would not have expected from him) there wants greatness and majesty. In the histories of the Bible which Raphael painted in the Vatican, there are several representations of the deity, which have a wonderful sublimity in them; and are, for the most part, perfectly

fectly well adapted to the Mosaical idea, which was his affair; this God is not our God†; he appears to us under a more amiable view. When the trinity is drawn, especially when the virgin-mother of God is also introduced, it is something too much favouring of Polytheism. I have a drawing of Raphael, where the idea he seems to have intended to give, is majesty and awfulness, together with great benignity; not however so lavish of his benefits, but that with our good things there is a mixture of unhappiness; though still the good abundantly preponderate and manifest the great Lord of the universe to be an indulgent and wise father. This is an idea worthy of the mind of Raphael. The drawing is a single figure of a beautiful old man, not decayed or impaired by age; there is majesty in his face, but not terror; he sits upon the clouds, his right hand lifted up giving his benediction; the left arm is wrapped in his drapery, and unemployed, only that hand appears, and rests on the cloud near his right elbow. A man cannot look upon and consider this admirable drawing without secretly adoring and loving the supreme being, and particularly for enduing one of our own species with a capacity such as that of Raphael's.

† See what archbishop Tillotson says on this subject, as quoted by Echard in his collection of Tillotson's Maxims, &c. from his works, p. 21. "The difference between the stile of the Old and New Testament is so remarkable, that one of the greatest sects of the primitive church, the Gnostics, did, upon this very ground, found their heresy of two Gods; the one evil, fierce, and cruel, whom they called the God of the Old Testament; the other, good, kind, and merciful, whom they called the God of the New. So great a difference is there between the representations which are made of God in the books of the Jewish and Christian Religion, as to give at least some colour and pretence for an imagination of two Gods."

But,

But, as we are not always to expect a Raphael, I think it is more decent, as being more respectful and submissive, not to presume at all to represent a character that cannot be an object of our senses; and withal, far too sublime for the utmost effort of our conceptions. Accordingly, we often see representations of this sole and universal being, that not only degrade the awful idea, which they always must do, but that are a burlesque of it; as that painter of whom the learned and pious dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Donne, says, "that having painted a God the father, not according to the dignity of the subject, but his own well-meaning ignorance, though he had made a very bad God, he had made a very good Devil."

In portraits the invention of the painter is exercised in the choice of the air and attitude, the action, drapery and ornaments; with respect to the character of the person.

He ought not to go in a road, or paint other people as he would chuse to be drawn himself. The dress, the ornaments, the colours, must be suited to the person and character. I remember a good observation of an ingenious gentleman upon two late painters; "One (he said) could not paint an impudent fellow, nor the other a modest one, they put so much of themselves in every thing they did."

Concerning what sort of resemblances portraits ought to have, opinions are divided; some are for flattery, others for exact likeness.

If the former be received, care must be taken that it be really flattery, and not too apparently so.

Many painters have taken a fancy to make caricatures of people's faces; that is exaggerating the defects,

defects, and concealing the beauties, however preserving the resemblance; the reverse of that is to be done in the present case, but the character must be seen throughout, or it ceases to be a compliment; it is the picture of somebody else, or of nobody, and only tells the person how different he or she is from what the painter conceives to be beauty. I will allow a poem, but not a romance.

If exact likeness is pretended to, all accidents, bad weather, indisposition, &c. must be allowed for; and as there are some things in nature that art cannot reach, if something be not done to compensate for that deficiency, the picture will be no more an exact copy of the face than a literal translation will be of the original book. Besides, whoever aims only at exactness will certainly fall short of it. We cannot tell assuredly how like the pictures were of those great masters we so justly admire, but it appears to be very probable that Vandike, with all his excellencies, fell frequently below the truth; his pictures were doubtless exceeding like, but surely some of them might have been more so, by being more graceful.

That admirable family-picture of the Senators of Titian which the duke of Somerset hath, is finely invented: the eldest of the three is apparently the principal figure, and admirably expresseth the action, and manner of an old man; the two others are well placed, and in proper attitudes: The boys are got upon the steps with a dog amongst them; a very likely amusement for them while the old gentlemen are at their devotions, which is their business! The girls are more orderly, and attend, in appearance, to the affair in hand: the attitudes of the figures in general are just, and delicate; the draperies, the sky,
every

every thing throughout the whole picture is well thought, and conducted. Nor is there any appearance of flattery, at least not to a degree as to hurt the resemblance.

Some subjects are in themselves so disadvantageous as to stand in need of something to raise their character. Of this I have a fine example in a head of marble which seems to have been done for a monument, the face itself is something poor, and tho' never so well followed would not have pleased; the sculptor therefore has raised the eyebrows, and opened the mouth a little, and by this expedient has given a spirit, and a dignity to a subject not considerable otherwise; besides that probably the person was accustomed to give himself some such air, and then this has this farther advantage, that it makes the resemblance more remarkable.

I need not go through the other branches of painting; as landscapes, battles, fruit, &c. what has been already said is, in their several ways, applicable to any of these: nor shall I concern myself with them hereafter, when I treat of the other parts of painting, for the same reason.

There are an infinity of artifices to hide defects, or give advantages, which come under this head of invention; as do all caprices, grotesque, and other ornaments, masks, &c. together with all uncommon, and delicate thoughts: such as the cherubims attending on God when he appeared to Moses in the burning bush, which Raphael hath painted with flames about them instead of wings; an angel running, and holding up both arms as just raising himself for flight, of which I have a drawing of Parmeggiano, as well as many other examples of these kinds in drawings of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, Leonardo da Vinci,

Vinci, &c. They are to be found perpetually in the works of the great masters, and add much to their beauty, and value.

The mention of grotesques suggests a rule to my mind which I will insert: it is this, that all creatures of imagination ought to have airs, and actions given them as whimsical, and chimerical as their forms are. I have a drawing, of the school of the Caraches, of a male and female satyr sitting together; there is a great deal of humour in it, so as to be a fine burlesque upon Corydon and Phillis. The anatomy figures in Vesalius, are prettily fancied: there is a series of denuding a figure to the bone, and they are all in attitudes seeming to have most pain as the operation goes on, till at last they languish, and die: but Michael Angelo hath made anatomy figures whose faces and actions are impossible to be described, and the most delicate that can be imagined for the purpose. “Mr. Fontenelle, in his “dialogue betwixt Homer and Æsop, after Homer had said he intended no allegory, but to be “taken literally, makes the other demand how he “could imagine mankind would believe such ridiculous accounts of the gods? O (says he) you “need be in no pain about that; if you would “give them truth you must put it in a fabulous “dress, but a lie enters freely into the mind of man “in its own proper shape. Why then, says Æsop, “I am afraid they will believe the beasts have “spoken as I have made them. Ah! (says Homer) the case is altered; men will be content “that the gods should be as great fools as themselves, but they will never bear that the beasts “should be as wise.” It would be well if painters could represent gods, heroes, angels, and other
superior

superior beings, with airs, and actions more than human; but to give satyrs, and other inferior creatures a dignity equal to men, would be unpardonable.

In order to assist, and improve the invention, a painter ought to converse with, and observe all sorts of people, chiefly the best, and to read the best books, and no other: he should observe the different, and various effect of mens passions, and those of other animals, and in short, all nature; and make sketches of what he observes, to help his memory.

So should he do of what he sees in the works of great masters, whether painters, or sculptors, which he cannot always see, and have recourse to.

Nor need any man be ashamed to be sometimes a plagiarist, it is what the greatest painters, and poets have allowed themselves in. Raphael hath borrowed many figures, and groups of figures from the antique; and Milton hath even translated many times from Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Tasso, and put them as his own: Virgil himself hath copied. And indeed it is hard that a man's having had a good thought should give him a patent for it for ever. The painter that can take a hint, or insert a figure, or groupes of figures from another man, and mix these with his own, so as to make a good composition, will thereby establish such a reputation to himself, as to be above fearing to suffer by the share those to whom he is beholden will have in it.

Raphael, and Giulio Romano are especially excellent for invention: amongst their other works those of the former at Hampton-Court, and in the Vatican; and of the latter the palace of T.

near

near Mantua are sufficient proofs of it. There are prints of almost all these; and Bellori has described those in the Vatican, as Felibien has that stupendous work of Giulio.

OF EXPRESSION.

WHATEVER the general character of the story is, the picture must discover it throughout, whether it be joyous, melancholy, grave, terrible, &c. The nativity, resurrection, and ascension ought to have the general colouring, the ornaments, back-ground, and every thing in them chearful, and joyous, and the contrary in a crucifixion, interment, or a pietà.

But a distinction must be made between grave, and melancholy, as in a holy family of Raphael, in my collection, and which hath been mentioned already; (p. 32.) the colouring is brown, and solemn, but yet all together the picture hath not a dismal air, but quite otherwise. I have another holy family of Rubens, painted as his manner was, as if the figures were in a sunny room: I have considered what effect it would have had if Raphael's colouring had been the same with Ruben's on this occasion, and doubtless it would have been the worse for it. There are certain sentiments of awe, and devotion which ought to be raised by the first sight of pictures of that subject, which that solemn colouring contributes very much to, but not the more bright, though upon other occasions preferable.

I have seen a fine instance of a colouring proper for melancholy subjects in a pietà of Vandike: that alone would make one not only grave, but sad at first sight; and a coloured drawing that I
have

have of the fall of Phaëton after Giulio Romano, shews how much this contributes to the expression. It is different from any colouring that ever I saw, and admirably adapted to the subject: there is a reddish purple tinct spread throughout, as if the world was all enveloped in smouldering fire.

There are certain little circumstances that contribute to the expression. Such an effect the burning lamps have that are in the carton of healing at the beautiful gate of the temple; one sees the place is holy, as well as magnificent.

The large fowl that are seen on the fore-ground in the carton of the draught of fishes have a good effect. There is a certain sea-wildness in them; and as their food was fish, they contribute mightily to express the affair in hand, which was fishing. They are a fine part of the scene.

Passerotto has drawn a Christ's head as going to be crucified, the expression of which is marvellously fine; but (excepting the air of the face) nothing is more moving; not the part of the cross that is seen; not the crown of thorns, nor the drops of blood falling from the wounds that makes; nothing can express more than an ignominious cord which comes upon part of the shoulder and neck. Raphael Borghini, in his *Riposo*, in the life of Passerotto, has given an account of this drawing, which with others of that master (by him also spoken of) I have.

The robes, and other habits of the figures; their attendants, and ensigns of authority, or dignity, as crowns, maces, &c. help to express their distinct characters; and commonly even their place in the composition. The principal persons and actors must not be put in a corner, or towards the extremities of the picture, unless the necessity of

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the subject requires it. A Christ, or an Apostle must not be dressed like an artificer, or a fisherman; a man of quality must be distinguished from one of the lower orders of men, as a well-bred man always is in life from a peasant. And so of the rest.

Every body knows the common, or ordinary distinctions by dress; but there is one instance of a particular kind which I will mention, as being likely to give useful hints to this purpose, and moreover very curious. In the carton of giving the keys to S. Peter, our Saviour is wrapt only in one large piece of white drapery, his left arm, and breast, and part of his leg naked; which undoubtedly was done to denote him now to appear in his resurrection-body, and not as before his crucifixion, when this dress would have been altogether improper. And this is the more remarkable, as having been done upon second thoughts, and after the picture was perhaps finished, which I know by having a drawing of this carton, very old, and probably made in Raphael's time, though not of his hand, where the Christ is fully clad; he has the very same large drapery, but one under it that covers his breast, arm, and legs down to the feet. Every thing else is pretty near the same with the carton*.

That the face, and air, as well as our actions, indicate the mind is indisputable. It is seen by every body in the extreams on both sides. For example; let two men, the one a wise man, and the other a fool, be seen together dressed, or dis-

* *Omnis motus animi suum quendam à natura habet vultum & sonum & gestum; totumque corpus hominis, & ejus omnis vultus, omnesque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita tonant, ut a motu animi quoque sunt fulta. Cic. de Orat. III.*

guised as you please, one will not be mistaken for the other, but distinguished with the first glance of the eye; and if these characters are stamped upon the face, so as to be read by every one when in the utmost extreams, they are so proportionably when more or less removed from them, and legible accordingly, and in proportion to the skill of the reader. The like may be observed of good, and ill-nature, genteelness, rusticity, &c.

Every figure and animal must be affected in the picture as one should suppose they would, or ought to be. And all the expressions of the several passions and sentiments must be made with regard to the characters of the persons moved by them. At the raising of Lazarus, some may be allowed to be made to hold something before their noses, and this would be very just, to denote that circumstance in the story, the time he had been dead; but this is exceedingly improper in the laying our Lord in the sepulchre, although he had been dead much longer than he was; however, Pordenone has done it. When Apollo fleas Marfyas, he may express all the anguish and impatience the painter can give him, but not so in the case of St. Bartholomew. That the Virgin Mary should swoon away through the excess of her grief, is very proper to suppose, but to throw her in such a posture as Daniel da Volterra has done in that famous picture of the descent from the cross, is by no means justifiable. He hath succeeded much better in that article, if a drawing I have which is imputed to him is really of him; (it was once in the collection of Georgio Vasari, as appears by its border, which is of his hand;) there the expressions of sorrow are very noble, uncommon, and extraordinary.

Polidore, in a drawing of the same subject (which I also have) has finely expressed the excessive grief of the Virgin, by intimating it was otherwise inexpressible: her attendants discover abundance of passion, and sorrow in their faces, but hers is hid by drapery held up by both her hands: the whole figure is very composed, and quiet; no noise, no outrage, but great dignity appears in her, suitable to her character. This thought Timanthes had in his picture of Iphigenia *, which he probably took from Euripides; as perhaps this of Polidore is owing to one, or both of them.

Putting the fore-finger in the mouth to express an agony, and confusion of mind is rarely used. I do not remember to have seen it any where but in the tomb of the Nasonii, where the Sphynx is proposing the riddle to Œdipus; and in a drawing I have of Giulio Romano, and which is painted in the palace of T. at Mantua. Giulio had not this thought from the other, that tomb not being discovered in his time; but in both these, this expression is incomparably fine.

In that admirable carton of St. Paul preaching, the expressions are very just, and delicate throughout: even the back-ground is not without its meaning; it is expressive of the superstition St. Paul was preaching against. But no historian or orator can possibly give me so great an idea of that eloquent and zealous Apostle, as that figure of his does; all the fine things related as said, or wrote by him cannot; for there I see a person, face, air, and action, which no words can sufficiently describe, but which assure me as much as those

* Pliny xxxv. 10.

can, that that man must speak good sense, and to the purpose. And the different sentiments of his auditors are as finely expressed; some appear to be angry, and malicious; others to be attentive, and reasoning upon the matter within themselves, or with one another; and one especially is apparently convinced. These last are the free-thinkers of that time, and are placed before the Apostle; the others are behind him, not only as caring less for the preacher, or the doctrine, but to raise the apostolick character, which would lose something of its dignity, if his maligners were supposed to be able to look him in the face.

Elymas the forcerer is blind from head to foot! but how admirably are terror, and astonishment expressed in the people present, and how variously, according to the several characters! The proconsul has these sentiments, but, as a Roman, and a gentleman; the rest in several degrees, and manners.

The same sentiments appear also in the carton of the death of Ananias, together with those of joy and triumph which naturally arises in good minds upon the sight of the effects of divine justice, and the victory of truth.

The airs of the heads in my holy family of Raphael are perfectly fine, according to the several characters; that of the mother of God has all the sweetness and goodness that could possibly appear in herself; what is particularly remarkable is, that the Christ, and the St. John are both fine boys, but the latter is apparently human, the other, as it ought to be, divine.

Nor is the expression in my drawing of the descent of the Holy Ghost * less excellent than the other parts

* The same from which the print of Marc Antonio is taken.

of it. The Virgin is seated in the principal part of the picture, and so distinguished as that none in the company seems to pretend to be in competition with her; and the devotion, and modesty with which she receives the ineffable gift is worthy of her character. St. Peter is on her right hand, and St. John on her left; the former hath his arms crossed on his breast, his head reclined, as if ashamed of having denied such a master, and receives the inspiration with great composure; but St. John with a holy boldness raises his head and hands, and is in a most becoming attitude; the women behind St. Mary are plainly of an inferior character. Throughout, there is great variety of expressions of joy and devotion, extremely well adapted to the occasion.

I will add one example more of a fine expression, because though it is very just, and natural, it hath not been done by any that I know of, except Tintoret, in a drawing I have seen of him. The story is our Saviour's declaration to the apostles, at supper with him, that one of them should betray him: some are moved one way, and some another, as is usual, but one of them hides his face, dropped down betwixt both his hands, as burst into tears from an excess of sorrow that his Lord should be betrayed, and by one of them.

In portraits it must be seen whether the person is grave, gay, a man of business, or wit, plain, genteel, &c. Each character must have an attitude, and dress; the ornaments and back-ground proper to it: every part of the portrait, and all about it must be expressive of the man, and have a resemblance as well as the features of the face.

If the person hath any particularities as to the set, or motion of the head, eyes, or mouth, (such

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as Shakespear somewhere calls the trick of the eye, supposing it be not unbecoming) these must be taken notice of, and strongly pronounced. They are a sort of moving features, and are as much a part of the man as the fixed ones: nay, sometimes they raise a low subject, as in the case of my marble head already spoken of, and contribute more to a surprising likeness than any thing else. Vandyke, in a picture I have of him, has given a brisk touch upon the under-lip, which makes the form, and set of the mouth very particular, and doubtless was an air which Don Diego de Gusman, whose portrait it is, was accustomed to give himself, which an inferior painter would not have observed, or not have dared to have pronounced, at least so strongly: but this, as it gives a marvellous spirit, and smartness, undoubtedly gave a proportionable resemblance.

If there be any thing particular in the history of the person which is proper to be expressed, as it is still a farther description of him, it is a great improvement to the portrait, to them who know that circumstance. There is an instance of this in a picture of Vandyke made of John Lyvens, who is drawn as if he was listening at something; which refers to a remarkable story in that man's life. The print is in the book of Vandyke's heads: which book, and the heads of the artists in the Lives of Giorgio Vasari are worth considering with regard to the variety of attitudes suited to the several characters, as well as upon other accounts.

Robes, or other marks of dignity, or of a profession, employment or amusement, a book, a ship, a favourite dog, or the like, are historical expressions common in portraits, which must be men-

tioned on this occasion ; and to say more of them is not necessary.

There are several kinds of artificial expressions indulged to painters, and practised by them, because of the disadvantage of their art, in that particular, in comparison of words.

To express the sense of the wrath of God with which our Lord's mind was filled, when in his agony, and the apprehension he was then in of his own approaching crucifixion, Federico Barocci, in a drawing I have of him, hath represented this wondrous object in a proper attitude ; and not only with the angel holding the cup to him, which is common, but in the back-ground you see the cross, and flames of fire. This is new and poetical.

In the carton where the people of Lycaonia are going to sacrifice to St. Paul and Barnabas, the occasion of this is finely told : The man who was healed of his lameness is one of the forwardest to express his sense of the divine power which appeared in those apostles ; and to shew it to be him, not only a crutch is under his feet on the ground, but an old man takes up the lappet of his garment, and looks upon the limb which he remembered to have been crippled, and expresses great devotion and admiration ; which sentiments are also seen in the other with a mixture of joy. When our Saviour committed the care of his church to Peter, the words he used on that occasion are related by Raphael, who hath made him pointing to a flock of sheep.* When the story of Joseph's interpre-

* Here is, besides, another fine instance of expression. The intention of this picture was doubtless to honour the papal dignity. St. Peter was to be here represented in his brightest character ;

interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams was to be related, Raphael hath painted those dreams in two circles over the figures; which he hath also done when Joseph relates his own to his brethren. His manner of expressing God's dividing the light from darkness, and the creation of the sun and moon, is altogether sublime. The prints of those last-mentioned pictures are not hard to be found, they are in what they call Raphael's Bible, but the paintings are in the Vatican; the best treasury of the works of that divine painter, except Hampton-Court.

The hyperbolical artifice of Timanthes to express the vastness of the Cyclops is well known, and was mightily admired by the ancients; he made several satyrs about him as if he was asleep, some were running away as frightened, others gazing at a distance, and one was measuring his thumb with his thyrsus, but seeming to do it with great caution lest he should awake. This expression was copied by Giulio Romano with a little variation. Corregio, in his picture of Danaë†, has finely expressed the sense of this story; for, upon the falling of the golden shower, Cupid draws off her linen covering, and two loves are trying upon a touchstone a dart tipped with gold. I will add but one example more of this kind, and that is of Nicolas Poussin to express a voice‡,

character; which consists in his having the keys, and the flock of Christ committed to him; but this last being conferred on him after the other, for Christ was then risen from the dead, and the keys he was in possession of before the crucifixion; both histories could not be brought in without making a double picture. The first is therefore expressed by his having the keys in his hand.

† Engraved by Du Change.

‡ Engraved by Del Po.

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which he has done in the baptism of our Saviour, by making the people look up and about, as it is natural for men to do when they hear any such, and know not whence it comes, especially if it be otherwise extraordinary, as the case was in this history.

Another way practised by painters to express their sense, which could not otherwise be done in painting, is by figures representative of certain things. This they learned from the ancients, of which there are abundance of examples, as in the Antoninian, or rather Aurelian pillar§, where to express the rain that fell when the Roman army was preserved, as they pretended, by the prayers of the Meletenian or thundering legion, the figure of Jupiter Pluvius is introduced: But I need not mention more of these. Raphael hath been very sparing of this expedient in sacred story, though in the passage of Jordan he hath represented that river by an old man dividing the waters, which are rolled and tumbled very nobly; but in poetical stories he hath been very profuse of these, as in the judgment of Paris and elsewhere. The like has been commonly practised by Annibale Carracci, Giulio Romano, and others. And there are some entire pictures of this kind, as in those made to compliment persons or societies, where their virtues, or what are attributed to them, are thus represented.

When we see in pictures of the Madona those of St. Francis, St. Katherine, or others not cotemporary, nay even the portraits of particular persons living when the pictures were made, this is

§ This august monument of antiquity is engraved by Pietro Santa Bartoli, with a commentary of Bellori. This figure is n. 15.

not so blameable as people commonly think. We are not to suppose these were intended for pure historical pictures, but only to express the attachment those saints or persons had for the Virgin, or their great piety and zeal: So I have seen whole families represented with the mantle of the Virgin Mary spread over their heads, doubtless to denote their putting themselves under her protection. With this key a great many seeming absurdities of good masters will be discovered to be none.

In the history of Heliodorus, who was miraculously chastised when he made a sacrilegious attempt upon the treasure in the temple of Jerusalem, Raphael has brought in the reigning Pope Julius II. to compliment him, who gloried in having driven out the enemies of the ecclesiastical state.

The famous St. Cecilia at Bologna is accompanied by St. Paul, St. John, St. Augustin, and St. Mary Magdalen, not as being supposed to have lived together; but possibly those being saints of different characters are introduced to heighten that of the saint, which is the principal one in the composition. || Though Albani thought it was done by Raphael in pure compliance with the positive direction of those for whom the picture was made; which (by the way) is not seldom the occasion of real faults in pictures, and which therefore are not to be imputed to the painter. My lord Somers has a drawing of the same subject attributed to Innocentio da Imola, which I believe was done after some former design of Raphael, for there are the same figures, placed just in the same manner, only the attitudes are considerably

|| See Felsina Pittrice, tom. II. p. 245.

varied; for there the other saints have regard only to the heroine of the picture: This helps to explain the other.

Of all the painters Rubens hath made the boldest use of this kind of expression (by figures) in his pictures of the Luxembourg gallery, and has been much censured for it. The truth is, it is a little shocking to see such a mixture of antique and modern figures of christianity and heathenism in the same pictures; but this is much owing to its novelty. He was willing not only to relate the actions done, but a great deal more than could be related any other way; and for the sake of that advantage, and the applause he should receive for it from those who judged of the thing in its true light, he had the courage to hazard the good opinion of others. He had moreover another very good reason for what he did on this occasion: The stories he had to paint were modern, and the habits and ornaments must be so too, which would not have had a very agreeable effect in painting: These allegorical additions make a wonderful improvement; they vary, enliven, and enrich the work; as any one may perceive that will imagine the pictures as they must have been, had Rubens been terrified by the objections which he certainly must have foreseen would be made afterwards, and so had left all these heathen gods and goddesses, and the rest of the fictitious figures out of the composition.

I will add but one way of expression more, and that is, plain writing.

Polygnotus, in the paintings made by him in the temple of Delphos, wrote the names of those whom he represented.

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The old Italian and German masters improved upon this; the figures they made were, literally, speaking figures; they had labels coming out of their mouths, with that written in them which they were intended to be made to say; but even Raphael and Annibale Carracci have condescended to write rather than leave any ambiguity or obscurity in their work: Thus the name of Sappho is written to shew it was this celebrated poetess, and not one of the muses intended in the Parnassus. And in the gallery of Farnese, that Anchises might not be mistaken for Adonis, *Genus unde latinum* was written.

In the carton of Elymas the forcerer, it doth not appear that the proconsul was converted, otherwise than by the writing; nor do I conceive how it was possible to have expressed that important circumstance so properly any other way.

In the pest of the same master, engraved by Marc Antonio, there is a line out of Virgil which, as it is very proper (the plague being that described by this poet, as will be seen presently) admirably heightens the expression, though, without it, it is one of the most wonderful instances of this part of the art that perhaps is in the world in black and white, and the utmost that human wit can suggest; there is not the most minute circumstance throughout the whole design which does not help to express the misery there intended to be shewn: But the print being not hard to be seen, need not to be described.

Writing is again used in this design: In one part of it you see a person on his bed, and two figures by him; this is Æneas, who (as Virgil relates) was advised by his father to apply himself to the Phrygian Gods to know what he should do
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to remove the plague; and being resolved to go, the deities appeared to him, the moon shining very bright (which the print represents); here *Effigies Sacræ Divom Phrygiæ** is written, because otherwise this incident would not probably have been thought on, but the group would have been taken to be only a sick man, and his attendants.

The works of this prodigy of a man ought to be carefully studied by him who would make himself master in expression, more especially with relation to those passions and sentiments that have nothing of savage and cruel; for his angelick mind was a stranger to these, as appears by his slaughter of the innocents, where, though he hath had recourse to the expedient of making the soldiers naked to give the more terror, he hath not succeeded so well as even so inferior a master as Pietro Testa, who, in a drawing I have of him of that story, has shewn he was fitter for it than Raphael: But you must not expect to find the true airs of the heads of that great master in prints, not even in those of Marc Antonio himself. Those are to be found only in what his own inimitable hand has done, of which there are many unquestionably right in several collections here in England; particularly in those very admirable and copious ones of the duke of Devonshire, and the earl of Pembroke; to whom I take leave on this, as on all other occasions, to make my humble acknowledgments for the favour of frequently seeing and considering those noble and delicious curiosities. But Hampton-Court is the great school of Raphael! and God be praised that we have so

* *Æneid* III. 140.

near us such an invaluable blessing. May the cartons continue in that place, and always to be seen, unhurt and undecayed, so long as the nature of the materials of which they are composed will possibly allow. May even a miracle be wrought in their favour, as themselves are some of the greatest instances of the divine power's interfering to endue a mortal man with abilities to perform such stupendous works of art.

Besides him, I know of none of the old masters that are remarkable for expression, unless for particular subjects; as Michael Angelo for infernal or terrible airs; amongst others I have the drawing he made for the Caron in the famous picture of the last judgment, which is admirable in its kind; and which (by the way) Vafari, who was well acquainted with him, says, he took from these three lines of Dante, an author he was very fond of:

Caron demonio con occhi di bragia
Loro accennando tutte le raccoglie
Batte col remo qualunque s'adagia.

Giulio Romano has fine airs for masks, a Silenus, satyrs, and the like. And for such stories as that of the Decii, the three hundred Spartans, the destruction of the giants, &c. I have several proofs of this. Others of later times have succeeded well in this part of the art, as Domenichino and Rembrandt, but these are the principal; only for portraits, and herein, next to Raphael, perhaps no man hath a better title to the preference than Vandyke; no not Titian himself, much less Rubens.

But there is no better school than nature for expression. A painter therefore should on all occasions observe how men look and act, when pleased, grieved, angry, &c.

OF COMPOSITION.

THIS is putting together for the advantage of the whole, what shall be judged proper to be the several parts of a picture; either as being essential to it, or because they are thought necessary for the common benefit: and moreover, the determination of the painter as to certain attitudes, and colours which are otherwise indifferent.

The composition of a picture is of vast consequence to the goodness of it; it is what first of all presents itself to the eye, and prejudices us in favour of, or with an aversion to it; like what the great queen Isabella of Castile said of a handsome and ingenious countenance, that it was a letter of recommendation. It is this that directs us to the ideas that are to be conveyed by the painter, and in what order; and the eye is delighted with the harmony at the same time as the understanding is improved. Whereas this being bad and injudicious, though the several parts are fine, the picture is troublesome to look upon, and like a book in which are many good thoughts, but flung in confusedly, and without method.

Every picture should be so contrived, as that at a distance, when one cannot discern what figures there are, or what they are doing, it should appear to be composed of masses, light, and dark; the latter of which serve as repotes to the eye. The forms of these masses must be agreeable, of whatsoever they consist, ground, trees, draperies, figures, &c. and the whole together should be sweet, and delightful, lovely shapes and colours without a name; of which there is an infinite variety.

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And it is not enough that there be great masses; they must be subdivided into lesser parts, or they will appear heavy, and disagreeable: thus though there is evidently a broad light (for example) in a piece of silk when covering a whole figure, or a limb, there may be lesser folds, breakings, flickerings, and reflections, and the great mass yet evidently preserved.

Sometimes one mass of light is upon a dark ground, and then the extremities of the light must not be too near the edges of the picture, and its greatest strength must be towards the centre; as in the descent from the cross, and the burial of Christ, both of Rubens, and of both which there are prints, one by Vosterman, and the other by Pontius.

I have a painting of the holy family by Rubens of this structure; where, because the mass of light in one part would else have gone off too abruptly, and have made a less pleasing figure, he hath set the foot of St. Elizabeth on a little stool; here the light catches, and spreads the mass so as to have the desired effect. Such another artifice Raphael hath practised in the famous Madona, in the tribunal at Florence. He has brought in a kind of an ornament to a chair for no other end (that I can imagine) but to form the mass agreeably.

Vandyke, that he might keep his principal light near the middle of his picture, and to shew to advantage the body of the figure, which he seems to have intended to exert himself in, hath even kept the head sombrous in an ecce homo I have of him, which makes the whole have a fine effect.

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I have many times observed with a great deal of pleasure the admirable composition (besides the other excellencies) of a fruit-piece of Michael Angelo Compadoglio, which I have had many years. The principal light is near the centre (not exactly there, for those regularities have an ill effect;) and the transition from thence, and from one thing to another, to the extremities of the picture all round is very easy, and delightful; in which he has employed fine artifices by leaves, twigs, little touches of lights striking advantageously, and the like. So that there is not a stroke in the picture without its meaning; and the whole, though very bright, and consisting of a great many parts, has a wonderful harmony, and repose.

One of the drawings that Corregio made for the composition of his famous picture of the nativity, called *La Notte del Corregio*, I have, and it is admirable in its kind: there is nothing one could wish were otherwise with respect to the composition, but that the full moon which he has made in one of the corners at the top had been omitted; it gives no light, that all comes from the new-born Saviour of the world, and sweetly diffuses itself from thence as from its centre all over the picture, only that moon a little troubles the eye.

The composition of my holy family of Raphael is not inferior to its other parts, and the transition from one thing to another is very artful: to instance only in one particular; behind the Madona is St. Joseph resting his head on his hand, which is placed upon his mouth, and chin; this hand spreads that subordinate mass of light,
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and together with the coiffure of the Virgin, and the little ring of glory round her head (which contribute also to the same end) makes the transition from her face to that of St. Joseph very grateful, and easy. The whole figure of St. Joseph is connected with that of the Madona, but subordinately, by one smart touch of the pencil artfully applied upon his drapery in the holy family I have of Rubens; than which there cannot be a more perfect example for composition, both as to the masses, and colour: but I will not multiply instances.

Sometimes the structure of a picture, or the tout-ensemble of its form, shall resemble dark clouds on a light ground; as in two assumptions of the Virgin by Bolswert after Rubens: but in both of them the figures of these masses are something too indistinct. Le Brun in a ceiling of the same subject, graved by young Simonneau, has put a group of angels, which almost hide the cloudy voiture of the Virgin; but this mass is of too regular, and heavy a shape. I refer you to prints, because they are easy to be got, and explain this matter as well as drawings, or pictures, and in some respects better.

There are instances where two masses, a light, and a dark one, divide the picture, each possessing one side. I have of this sort by Rubens, and as fine a composition as can be seen; the masses are so well rounded, the principal light being near the middle of the bright one, and the other having subordinate lights upon it so as to connect, but not to confound it with the rest; and they are in agreeable shapes, and melting into one another, but nevertheless sufficiently determined.

Very commonly a picture consists of a mass of light, and another of shadow upon a ground of a middle tinct. And sometimes it is composed of a mass of dark at the bottom, another lighter above that, and another, for the upper part, still lighter; (as usually in a landscape.) I have a Paolo Veronese where a large group of figures, the principal ones of the story, compose this lower brown mass; architecture, the second; more buildings, with figures and the sky, the third; but most commonly in pictures of three masses, the second is the place of the principal figures.

Of such consequence are these agreeable masses in a picture, that for the sake of them what is less material must be dispensed with when both cannot be had. As the principal figure, and action must be distinguished, (of which more presently) those limbs of a figure that are chiefly employed ought to be made conspicuous; Luca Giordano, in a picture I have, has represented the little Jesus as riding on St. John's lamb, and supported by that young Saint; the legs of the lamb being his own support, and that of his rider should have been very obvious; but if they had, the mass where they are would have been too much, and disagreeably broken, they are only seen therefore, and the masses are preserved, and so beautifully as to be a great part of the merit of the picture.

As the tout-ensemble of a picture must be beautiful in its masses, so must it be as to its colours. And as what is principal must be (generally speaking) the most conspicuous, the predominant colours of that should be diffused throughout the whole. This Raphael has observed remarkably

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in the carton of St. Paul preaching; his drapery is red and green, and these colours are scattered every where; but judiciously; for subordinate colours as well as subordinate lights serve to soften, and support the principal ones, which otherwise would appear as spots, and consequently be offensive.

And when the subject does not necessarily require a due variety or beauty of tincts, or perhaps the picture when thought to be finished is found to want something of this kind, a few red, or yellow leaves of trees, flowers, of whatever colour, in short, any thing otherwise indifferent, may be flung in very advantageously.

In a figure, and every part of a figure, and indeed in every thing else there is one part which must have a peculiar force, and be manifestly distinguished from the rest, all the other parts of which must also have a due subordination to it, and to one another. The same must be observed in the composition of an entire picture; and this principal, distinguished part, ought (generally speaking) to be the place of the principal figure, and action: and here every thing must be higher finished, the other parts must be less so gradually.

Pictures should be like bunches of grapes, but they must not resemble a great many single grapes scattered on a table; there must not be many little parts of an equal strength, and detached from one another, which is as odious to the eye as it is to the ear to hear many people talking to you at once. Nothing must start, or be too strong for the place where it is; as in a concert of musick when a note is too high, or an instrument out of tune; but a sweet harmony and repose must result

from all the parts judiciously put together, and united with each other.

In the descent from the cross of Rubens, the Christ is the principal figure, this body being naked and about the centre of the picture would have been distinguished as the heightening of this mass of light; but not content with that, and to raise it still more, this judicious master has added a sheet in which the body lies, and which is supposed to be useful to deliver it down safely, as well as to carry it off afterwards, but the main design is what I am observing, and for that it is admirably introduced.

Ananias is the principal figure in the carton which gives the history of his death; as the apostle that pronounces his sentence is of the subordinate group, which consists of apostles. (Which therefore is subordinate, because the principal action relates to the criminal, and thither the eye is directed by almost all the figures in the picture.) St. Paul is the chief figure in that carton where he is preaching, and amongst his auditors one is eminently distinguished, who is principal of that group; and is apparently a believer, and more so than any of them, or he had not had that second place in a picture conducted by so great a judgment as that of Raphael's. These principal, and subordinate groups, and figures, are so apparent, that the eye will naturally fix first upon one, then upon the other, and consider each in order, and with delight. I might give other examples were it necessary; where it is not thus, the composition is less perfect.

It is to be noted, that the forcerer in the carton of his chastisement is the principal figure there,
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but hath not the force in all its parts that it ought to have as such, and to maintain the harmony; this is accidental, for it is certain his drapery was of the same strength and beauty, as that on his head, however it has happened to have changed its colour.

The shadows in the drapery of St. Paul also, in that carton where the people are about to sacrifice to him and Barnabas, have lost something of their force.

Sometimes the place in the picture, and not the force, gives the distinction; as in my drawing of the descent of the Holy Ghost: the principal figure is the symbol of that divine person in the sacred trinity, who is the great agent, and is distinguished both by the place it is in, and the glory which surrounds it: the principal of the next group is the Virgin, who is placed directly under the dove, and in the middle of the picture; but some of the apostles who appear not to be the chief, have a greater force than she, or any of those that compose that group; however the place she possesses preserves that distinction that the incomparable artist intended to give her.

And sometimes the painter happens to be obliged to put a figure in a place, and with a degree of force which does not sufficiently distinguish it. In that case, the attention must be awakened by the colour of its drapery, or a part of it, or by the ground on which it is painted, or some other artifice.

Scarlet, or some vivid colour, is very proper on such occasions: I think I have met with an instance of this kind from Titian, in a Bacchus and Ariadne; her figure is thus distinguished for the reason I have given. And in a picture of

Albano, which Sir James Thornhill has, our Lord is seen at a distance as coming towards some of his disciples, and, though a small figure, is nevertheless the most apparent in the picture by being placed on a rising ground, and painted upon the bright part of the sky just above the horizon.

In a composition, as well as in every single figure, or other part of which the picture consists, one thing must contrast, or be varied from another. Thus in a figure, the arms and legs must not be placed to answer one another in parallel lines. In like manner if one figure in a composition stands, another must bend, or lie on the ground; and of those that stand, or are in any other position, if there be several of them, they must be varied by turns of the head, or some other artful disposition of their parts; as may be seen (for instance) in the carton of giving the keys. The masses must also have the like contrast, two must not be alike in form or size, nor the whole mass composed of those lesser ones of too regular a shape. The colours must be also contrasted, and opposed, so as to be grateful to the eye: there must not (for example) be two draperies in one picture of the same colour and strength, unless they are contiguous, and then they are but as one. If there be two reds, blews, or whatever other colour, one must be of a darker, or paler tinct, or be some way varied by lights, shadows, or reflections. Raphaël, and others have made great advantage of changeable silks to unite the contrasting colours, as well as to make a part of the contrast themselves. As in the carton of giving the keys, the apostle that stands in profile, and immediately behind St. John, has a yellow garment with red sleeves, which connects that
figure

figure with St. Peter, and St. John, whose draperies are of the same species of colours. Then the same apostle has a loose changeable drapery, the lights of which are a mixture of red and yellow, the other parts are blewish. This unites itself with the other colours already mentioned, and with the blew drapery of another apostle which follows afterwards; between which, and the changeable silk is a yellow drapery something different from the other yellows, but with shadows bearing upon the purple, as those of the yellow drapery of St. Peter incline to the red: all which, together with several other particulars, produce a wonderful harmony.

The exotick birds that are placed on the shore, in the fore-ground in the carton of the draught of fishes, prevent the heaviness which that part would otherwise have had by breaking the parallel lines which would have been made by the boats, and base of the picture.

The back ground of the picture of the death-bed of Germanicus by Pouffin, is architecture; but the many perpendicular lines over the heads of the figures throughout, would have had an ill effect: he has therefore spread a sort of curtain or canopy, over the principal of them; (which also helps to distinguish them) this remedies that inconvenience; the rest of the back ground is contrasted by standards, arms, &c.

Though a mass may consist of a number of little parts, there ought to be one, or more, larger, and as it were governing the rest, and this is another sort of contrast. My lord Burlington has a picture of the good Samaritan by Bassano, which is a fine instance of this. In the same picture, there are two knees of two several figures, pretty near together,

together, and the legs and thighs of which make angles too much alike, but this is contrasted by one being naked, and the other clad; and over the latter, a little sort of fash falls, which is an additional expedient.

There is an admirable contrast in the carton of St. Paul preaching; his figure (which is a sublime one) stands alone, as it ought to do, and consequently is very conspicuous, which is also perfectly right; the attitude is as fine as can be imagined; but the beauty of this noble figure, and with it of the whole picture depends upon this artful contrast I have been speaking of; of so great consequence is that little part of the drapery flung over the apostle's shoulder, and hanging down almost to his waist; for, besides that it poizes the figure, which leans forward in the energy of his discourse, had it gone lower, so as to have, as it were, divided the outline of the hinder part of the figure in two equal, or near equal parts, it had been offensive; as it had been less pleasing if it had not come so low as it does. This important piece of drapery preserves the mass of light upon that figure, but varies it, and gives it an agreeable form, whereas without it the whole figure would have been heavy, and disagreeable; but there was no danger of that in Raphael. There is another piece of drapery in the carton of giving the keys, which is very judiciously flung in; the three outmost figures at the end of the picture, (the contrary to that where our Lord is) made a mass of light of a shape not very pleasing, till that knowing painter struck in a part of the garment of the last apostle in the group as folded under his arm, this breaks the straight line, and gives a more grateful form to the whole mass; which

which is also assisted by the boat there; as the principal figure in this composition is by the flock of sheep placed behind him, and which moreover serves to detach the figure from its ground, as well as to illustrate the history.

The naked boys in the carton of healing the cripple are a farther proof of Raphael's great judgment in composition: One of them is in such an attitude as finely varies the turns of the figures; but here is moreover another kind of contrast, and that is caused by their being naked, which how odd soever it may seem at first, and without considering the reason of it, will be found to have a marvellous effect: Cloath them in imagination; dress them as you will, the picture suffers by it, and would have suffered if Raphael himself had done it.

It is for the sake of this contrast, which is of so great consequence in painting, that this knowing man, in the carton we are now upon, hath placed his figures at one end of the temple near the corner, where one would not suppose the beautiful gate was: But this varies the sides of the picture, and at the same time gives him an opportunity to enlarge his buildings with a fine portico, the like of which you must imagine must be on the other side of the main structure; all which together makes one of the noblest pieces of architecture that can be conceived.

He has taken a greater licence in the carton of the conversion of Sergius Paulus, where the architecture will be difficult to account for, otherwise than by saying, it was done to give the contrast we are speaking of; but this will justify it sufficiently.

Nor

Nor is this contrast only necessary in every particular picture, but if several are made to hang in one room they ought to contrast one another. This Titian considered when he was making several pictures for our king Henry VIII. as appears by a letter he wrote to that prince, which (amongst others of Titian to the emperor and other great men) is to be found in a collection of letters printed at Venice, anno 1574. p. 403.

—— “ Et perche la Danaë ch’io mandai già a
 “ nostra maestà, si uedeua tutta dalla parte dinanzi,
 “ hò uoluto in quest’ altra poesia, uariare, & farle
 “ mostrare la contraria parte, accioche riesca in
 “ camerino doue hanno da stare più gratioso alla
 “ uista. Tosto le manderò la poesia di Perseo &
 “ Andromeda, che haura un’ altra uista, differente
 “ da queste, & così Medea & Jasone.”——

—— “ And because the Danaë, which I have al-
 “ ready sent to your majesty, is seen in front, I
 “ design in this other table to vary, and then the
 “ back parts of this contrast will have a better
 “ effect in the room in which they are to hang. I
 “ shall send also in a short time the Perseus and
 “ Andromeda, which will have another view still
 “ different from both these, and so too the Jason
 “ and Medea.”——

There is another sort of contrast which I have often wondered painters have not more considered than we generally find; and that is, making some fat, and some lean people; such a face and air as Mr. Locke’s, or Sir Isaac Newton’s, would shine in the best composition that ever Raphael made, as to express their characters would be a task worthy of that divine hand. In the cartons there are one or two figures something corpulent, but I think not one remarkably lean; I have a drawing
 of

of Baccio Bandinelli where this contrast is, and has a fine effect.

The masters to be studied for composition are Raphael, Rubens, and Rembrandt most especially, though many others are worthy notice, and to be carefully considered; amongst which Vandevelde ought not to be forgotten; who, though his subjects were ships, which consisting of so many little parts, are very difficult to fling into great masses, has done it, by the help of spread sails, smok, and the bodies of the vessels, and a judicious management of lights and shadows. So that his compositions are many times as good as those of any master.

The more to be convinced of the advantage of composition, as well as the better to comprehend what I have been saying, it may not be amiss to compare some of those things, I have instanced in, as good, with others that are not so; such as the famous descent of the cross by Daniele da Volterra, where all is confusion; the crucifixion of our Lord between the two thieves by Rubens, engraved by Bolswart, where, though they are distinct, they are of disagreeable forms, and unconnected.

DESIGN OR DRAWING.

BY these terms is sometimes understood the expressing our thoughts upon paper, or whatever other flat superficies; and that by resemblances formed by a pen, crayon, chalk, or the like. But more commonly the giving the just form and dimension of visible objects, according as they appear to the eye; if they are pretended to be described in their natural dimensions; if
bigger

bigger or less, then drawing or designing signifies only the giving those things their true form, which implies an exact proportionable magnifying, or diminishing in every part alike.

And this comprehends also, giving the true shapes, places, and even degrees of lights, shadows, and reflections; because if these are not right, if the thing hath not its due force, or relief, the true form of what is pretended to be drawn cannot be given. These shew the outline all round, and in every part, as well as where the object is terminated on its back-ground.

In a composition of several figures, or whatever other bodies, if the perspective is not just, the drawing of that composition is false. This therefore is also implied by this term.

I know, drawing is not commonly understood to comprehend the clair-obscuré, relief, and perspective; but it doth not follow however that what I advance is not right.

But if the outlines are only marked, this also is drawing; it is giving the true form of what is pretended to, that is, the outline.

The drawing, in the latter and most common sense, besides that it must be just, must be pronounced boldly, clearly, and without ambiguity: Consequently, neither the outlines, nor the forms of the lights and shadows, must be confused and uncertain, or woolly, upon pretence of softness; nor, on the other hand, may they be sharp, hard, or dry; for either of these are extreams; nature lies between them.

As there are not two men in the world who at this instant, or at any other time, have exactly the same set of ideas; nor any one man that hath the same set twice, or this moment, as he had the last;
for

for thoughts obtrude themselves, and pass along in the mind continually, as the rivers

Stream and perpetual draw their humid train.—MILT.
So, neither are there two men, nor two faces, no, not two eyes, foreheads, noses, or any other features; nay farther, there are not two leaves, though of the same species, perfectly alike.

A designer therefore must consider, when he draws after nature, that his business is to describe that very form, as distinguished from every other form in the universe.

In order to give this just representation of nature, for that is all we are now upon, as being all that drawing, in the present sense, and simply considered, implies (grace and greatness, are to be spoken to afterwards) I say, in order to follow nature exactly, a man must be well acquainted with nature, and have a reasonable knowledge of geometry, proportion, (which must be varied according to the sex, age, and quality of the person) anatomy, osteology, and perspective. I will add to these, an acquaintance with the works of the best painters and sculptors, ancient and modern: For it is a certain maxim, "No man sees what things are, that knows not what they ought to be."

That this maxim is true, will appear by an academy figure drawn by one ignorant in the structure and knitting of the bones, and anatomy, compared with another who understands these thoroughly: Or by comparing a portrait of the same person drawn by one unacquainted with the works of the best masters, and another of the hand of one to whom those excellent works are no strangers; both see the same life, but with different eyes; for, as no two things in nature are perfectly

perfectly alike, so neither do any two persons eyes see the same thing exactly alike; the former sees it as one unskilled in music hears a concert or single instrument; the other as a master in that science: These hear equally, but not with like distinction of sounds, and observation of the skill of the composer.

Perhaps Albert Durer drew as correctly, according to the idea he had of things, as Raphael; and the German eye saw (in one sense) as well as the Italian; but these two masters conceived differently, nature had not the same appearance to both, and that because one of them had not his eyes formed to see the beauties that are really there; the perception of which lets us into another world, more beautiful than is seen by untaught eyes.* And which is still improveable by a mind stored with great and lovely ideas, and capable of imagining something beyond what is seen. Such a one every designer ought to have. But this is to be spoken to when I treat of grace and greatness.

Michael Angelo was the most learned and correct designer of all the moderns, if Raphael were not his equal, or, as some will have it, superior. The Roman and Florentine schools have excelled all others in this fundamental part of painting; and of the first, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Polidore, Pierino del Vaga, &c. as Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, &c. have been the best of the Florentines. Of the Bolognese, Annibale Carracci, and Dominichino have been excellent designers. But the best having been, in some degree, deficient in anatomy, there are more

* *Nos etiam eruditos habemus oculos.*—CIC.

instances

instances of faults in this part of painting than in any other; for it is not enough to understand the true structure and form of the muscles of a human body, but to know how they will appear in every attitude and operation; a science which probably no man hath ever had leisure and genius to acquire sufficiently. We are sure that Michael Angelo, the most learned in this particular, hath frequently failed; Raphael still oftener.

When a painter intends to represent a history (for example) the way commonly is to design the whole in his mind, to consider what figures to bring in, and what they are to think, say, or do; and then to sketch upon paper this his idea; and not only the invention but composition of his intended picture: This he may alter upon the same paper, or by making other sketches, till he is pretty well determined (and this is the first sense in which I said the term drawing or designing was to be understood). In the next place his business is to consult the life, and to make drawings of particular figures, or parts of figures, or of what else he intends to bring into his work, as he finds necessary; together also with proper ornaments, or other things belonging to his invention, as vases, frizes, trophies, &c. till he has brought his picture to some perfection on paper, either in these loose studies, or in one entire drawing. This is frequently done, and sometimes these drawings are finished very highly by the master, either that his disciples might be able from them to make a greater progress in the grand work, and so leave the less for himself to do; or for the perusal of the person for whom the picture was to be made, and who commonly could not make any judgment of what this would appear, but from such a

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finished

finished drawing; and perhaps sometimes for his own pleasure.

Of these drawings of all kinds, those great masters (whose names and memories are sweet to all true lovers of the art) made very many; sometimes several for the same work, and not only for the same picture, but for one figure, or part of a picture; and though too many are perished and lost, a considerable number have escaped, and have been preserved to our times; some very well, others not, as it has happened; and these are exceedingly prized by all who understand, and can see their beauty; for they are the very spirit and quintessence of the art: Here we see the steps the master took, the materials with which he made his finished paintings, which are little other than copies of these, and frequently (at least in part) by some other hand; but these are undoubtedly altogether his own, and true and proper originals.

It must be confessed, in the paintings you have the colours, and the last determination of the master, with the entire completion of the work. The thoughts and finishings are in a great measure seen in the prints of such works of which prints are made, nor is a drawing destitute of colouring absolutely; on the contrary, one frequently sees beautiful tints in the paper, washes, ink, and chalks of drawings; but what is wanting in some respects is abundantly recompensed in others; for in these works the masters, not being embarrassed with colours, have had a full scope and perfect liberty, which is a very considerable advantage. There is a spirit, a fire, a freedom, a delicacy in the drawings of Giulio Romano, Polidore, Parmeggiano, Guido, and even the Carraches themselves, which are not to be seen in
their

their paintings. A pen or chalk will perform what cannot possibly be done with a pencil; and a pencil, with a thin liquid only, what cannot be done when one has a variety of colours to manage, especially in oil.

And there is this farther consideration to endear these drawings to us; no more can be had than what are now in being; no new ones can be made; the number of these must necessarily diminish by time and accidents, but cannot be supplied; the world must be content with what it has: For though there are ingenious men endeavouring to tread in the steps of these prodigies of art, whose works we are speaking of, there is yet no appearance that any will equal them; though I am in hopes that our own country does, or will produce those that will come as near them as any other nation, I mean as to history painting, for that we already excel all others in portraits is indisputable.

The vast pleasure I take in these great curiosities has carried me perhaps too far: I will only add, that the first sketches not being intended to express more than the general ideas, any incorrectness in the figures or perspective, or the like, are not to be esteemed as faults; exactness was not in the idea; the sketch, notwithstanding such seeming faults, may shew a noble thought, and be executed with great spirit, which was all that was pretended to, and which being performed, it may be said to be well drawn, although incorrect as to the other matters. But when correction is pretended to (and this is always the case of a finished drawing or picture) then to have any defect in drawing, in this sense of the term, is a fault.

C O L O U R I N G.

COLOURS are to the eye what sounds are to the ear, tastes to the palate, or any other object of our senses are to those senses; and accordingly an eye that is delicate takes in proportionable pleasure from beautiful ones, and is as much offended with their contraries. Good colouring therefore in a picture is of great consequence, not only as it is a truer representation of nature, where every thing is beautiful in its kind, but as administering a considerable degree of pleasure to the sense.

The colouring of a picture must be varied according to the subject, the time, and place.

If the subject be grave, melancholy or terrible, the general tinct of the colouring must incline to brown, black or red, and gloomy; but it must be gay and pleasant in subjects of joy and triumph. This I will not enlarge upon here, having spoken to it already in the chapter of expression. Morning, noon, evening, night; sunshine, wet, or cloudy weather, influences the colours of things; and if the scene of the picture be a room, open air, or partly open and partly inclosed, the colouring must be accordingly.

The distance also alters the colouring, because of the medium of air through which every thing is seen, which being blue, the more remote any object is, the more it must partake of that colour; consequently must have less force or strength; the ground therefore, or whatsoever is behind a figure (for example) must not be so strong as that figure is; nor any of its parts which retire and round off, as those that come nearer the eye; and this

not

not only for the reason already given, but because moreover there will always be reflections stronger, or weaker, that will diminish the force of the shadows; which reflections (by the way) must partake of the colours of those things from whence they are produced.

Any of the several species of colours may be as beautiful in their kinds as the others; but one kind is more so than another, as having more variety, and consisting of colours more pleasing in their own nature; in which, and the harmony, and agreement of one tinct with another, the goodness of colouring consists.

To shew the beauty of variety I will instance in a guelder-rose, which is white; but as it hath many leaves one under another, and these lying hollow, so as to be seen through in some places, this occasions several tincts of light and shadow; and, together with these, some of the leaves having a greenish tinct, the whole together produces that variety which gives a beauty not to be found in this paper, though it is white, nor in the inside of an egg-shell though whiter, nor in any other white object that has not that variety.

And this is the case, though this flower be seen in a room in gloomy, or wet weather; but let it be exposed to the open air when the sky is serene, the blue that those leaves, or parts of leaves that lie open to it, will receive, together with the reflections that then will also happen to strike upon it, will give a great addition to its beauty: but let the sun-beams touch up its leaves where they can reach with their fine yellowish tinct, the other retaining their sky-blue, together with the shadows and brisk reflections it will then receive, you will see with delight what a perfection of beauty it

will have, not only because the colours are more pleasant in themselves, but because there is greater variety.

A sky entirely blue would have less beauty than it has being always varied towards the horizon, and by the sun-beams, whether rising, setting, or in its progress; but neither thus hath it such beauty as when more varied with clouds tinged with yellow, white, purple, &c.

A piece of silk or cloth hung or laid flat, hath not the beauty, though the colour of it be pleasing, as when flung into folds; nay a piece of silk that hath little beauty in itself shall be much improved only by being pinked, watered, or quilted; the reason is, in these cases there arises a variety produced by lights, shades, and reflections.

There are, as I said, certain colours less agreeable than others, as a brick-wall, for example; yet when the sun strikes upon one part of it, and the sky tinges another part of it, and shadows and reflections the rest, this variety shall give even that a degree of beauty.

Perfect black, and white are disagreeable; for which reason a painter should break those extremes of colours that there may be a warmth, and mellowness in his work: let him (in flesh especially) remember to avoid the chalk, the brick, and the charcoal, and think of a pearl, and a ripe peach.

But, it is not enough that the colours in themselves be beautiful singly, and that there be variety, they must be set by one another so as to be mutually assistant to each other *; and this not only in the object painted, but in the ground, and what-

Sic positæ, quoniam suaves miscetis odores, as Virgil says of flowers on a like occasion.

foever

soever comes into the composition; so as that every part, and the whole together may have a pleasing effect to the eye; such a harmony as a good piece of musick has to the ear; but for which, in either case no certain rules can be given: except in some few general cases which are very obvious, and need not therefore be mentioned here.

The best that can be done is to advise one that would know the beauty of colouring, to observe nature, and how the best colourists have imitated her.

What a lightness, thinness, and transparency, what a warmth, cleanness, and delicacy is to be seen in life, and in good pictures!

He that would be a good colourist himself must moreover practise much after, and for a considerable time accustom himself to see, well-coloured pictures only: but even this will be in vain, unless he has a good eye in the sense, as one is said to have a good ear for musick; he must not only see well, but have a particular delicacy with relation to the beauty of colours, and the infinite variety of tincts.

The Venetian, Lombard, and Flemish schools have excelled in colouring; the Florentine and Roman in design; the Bolognese masters in both; but not to the degree generally as either of the other. Corregio, Titian, Paul Veronese, Rubens, and Vandyke, have been admirable colourists; the latter in his best things has followed common nature extremely close, perhaps too close!

Raphael's colouring, especially in his shadows, is blackish: this was occasioned by the use of a sort of printer's black *, and which has changed its

* See Giorgio Vasari in his life.

tinct, though it was warm, and glowing at first, upon which account he was fond of it, though he was advised what would be the consequence. However by the vast progress he made in colouring after he applied himself to it, it is judged he would in this part of painting also have excelled, as in the others; here would have been a double prodigy! since no one man has ever possessed even colouring and designing to that, or any very considerable degree.

Though the cartons are some of the last of his works, it must be confessed the colouring of them is not equal to the drawing; but at the same time neither can it be denied but that he that painted those could colour well, and would have coloured better. It must be considered they were made for patterns for tapestry, not professed pictures, and painted, not in oil, but in distemper: if therefore one sees not the warmth, and mellowness, and delicacy of colouring which is to be found in Corregio, Titian, or Rubens, it may fairly be imputed in a great measure to these causes. A judicious painter has other considerations relating to the colouring when he makes patterns for tapestry to be heightened with gold and silver, than when he paints a picture without any such view; nor can a sort of dryness and harshness be avoided in distemper, upon paper: time moreover has apparently changed some of the colours. In a word, the tout-ensemble of the colours is agreeable, and noble; and the parts of it are in general extremely, but not superlatively good.

I will only add one observation here concerning the colours of the draperies of the apostles which are always the same in all the cartons, only St. Peter

Peter when he is a fisherman has not his large apostolical drapery on. This apostle, when dressed, wears a yellow drapery over his blue coat; St. John a red one over a green; so does St. Paul; which is also the same that he wears in the famous St. Cecilia, which was painted a little before.

H A N D L I N G.

BY this term is understood the manner in which the colours are left by the pencil upon the picture; as the manner of using the pen, chalk, or pencil in a drawing is the handling of that drawing.

This considered in itself abstractedly is only a piece of mechanicks, and is well or ill as it is performed with a curious and expert, or heavy and clumsy hand; and this whether it is smooth or rough, or however it is done; for in all the manners of working, the pencil may be well or ill in their kind; and a fine light hand is seen as much in a rough, as in a smooth manner.

I confess I love to see a freedom and delicacy of hand in painting as in any other piece of work; it hath its merit. Though, to say a picture is justly imagined, well disposed, truly drawn, is great, has grace, or the other good qualities of a picture; and withal that it is finely handled, is as if one should say a man is virtuous, wise, good natured, valiant, or the like, and is also handsome.

But the handling may be such as to be not only good, abstractedly considered, but as being proper, and adding a real advantage to the picture: and then, to say a picture hath such and such
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good

good properties, and is also well handled (in that sense) is as to say a man is wise, virtuous, and the like, and is also handsome, and perfectly well bred.

Generally if the character of the picture is greatness, terrible, or savage, as battles, robberies, witchcrafts, apparitions, or even the portraits of men of such characters, there ought to be employed a rough, bold pencil; and contrarily, if the character is grace, beauty, love, innocence, &c. a softer pencil, and more finishing is proper.

It is no objection against a sketch, if it be left unfinished, and with bold rough touches, though it be little, and to be seen near, and whatsoever its character be; for thus it answers its end, and the painter would after that be imprudent to spend more time upon it. But generally small pictures should be well wrought.

Jewels, gold, silver, and whatsoever has smart brightness, require bold, rough touches of the pencil in the heightenings.

The pencil should be left pretty much in linen, silks, and whatsoever has a glossiness.

All large pictures, and whatsoever is seen at a great distance should be rough; for besides that it would be loss of time to a painter to finish such things highly, since distance would hide all that pains; those bold roughnesses give the work a greater force, and keep the tincts distinct.

The more remote any thing is supposed to be, the less finishing it ought to have. I have seen a fringe to a curtain in the back-ground of a picture, which perhaps was half a day in painting, but might have been better done in a minute.

There is often a spirit and beauty in a quick, or perhaps an accidental management of the chalk,

pen, pencil, or brush in a drawing, or painting, which it is impossible, or very difficult to preserve, if it be more finished. It is better therefore to incur the censure of the injudicious, than to hazard the losing such advantages to the picture. Apelles, comparing himself with Protogenes, said, ' Perhaps he is equal, if not superior to me in some things, but I am sure I excel him in this: I know when to have done.'

Flesh in pictures to be seen at a common distance, and especially portraits, should (generally speaking) be well wrought up, and then touched upon every where in the principal lights and shadows, and to pronounce the features; and this more, or less, according to the sex, age, or character of the person, avoiding narrow or long continued strokes, as in the eye-lids, mouth, &c. and too many sharp ones: this being done by a light hand judiciously, gives a spirit, and retains the softness of flesh.

In short, the painter should consider what manner of handling will best conduce to the end he proposes, the imitation of nature, or the expressing those raised ideas he has conceived of possible perfection in nature, and that he ought to turn his pencil to; always remembering that what is soonest done is best, if it is equally good upon all other accounts.

There are two mistakes very common; one is, because a great many good pictures are very rough painted, people fancy that is a good picture that is so. There is bold painting, but there is also impudent painting. Others on the contrary judge of a picture not by their eyes, but by their fingers ends, they feel if it be good. Those appear to know little of the true beauties of the art, that
thus

thus fix upon the least considerable circumstance of it as if it were all, or the principal thing to be considered.

The cartons, as they are properly no other than coloured drawings, are handled accordingly, and extremely well. The flesh is generally pretty much finished, and then finely touched upon. There is much hatching with the point of a large pencil upon a prepared ground. The hair is made with such a pencil for the most part.

Leonardo da Vinci had a wonderful delicacy of hand in finishing highly; but Giorgione and Corregio have especially been famous for a fine, that is, a light, easy, and delicate pencil. You see a free, bold handling in the works of Titian, Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, Rubens, the Borgognone, Salvator Rosa, &c. The Maltese had a very particular manner, he painted chiefly Turkey-work'd carpets, and left the pencil as rough as the carpet itself, and admirably well in its kind. For works at a great distance, Lanfranc had a noble manner of handling; as particularly in the cupola of St. Andrea della Valle, which is in fresco, and where the colours are flung on with a sponge, instead of a pencil or a brush; not for a whim, but as most proper to the purpose; and an eye (for example) appears near, as one rude spot; but, as it ought, at its intended distance. Perhaps no man ever managed a pencil in all the several manners better than Vandyke.

GRACE

GRACE AND GREATNESS.

THERE is some degree of merit in a picture where nature is exactly copied, though in a low subject; such as drolls, country wakes, flowers, landscapes, &c. and more in proportion as the subject rises, or the end of the picture is this exact representation. Herein the Dutch and Flemish masters have been equal to the Italians, if not superior to them in general. What gives the Italians, and their masters, the ancients, the preference, is, that they have not servilely followed common nature, but raised and improved, or at least have always made the best choice of it. This gives a dignity to a low subject, and is the reason of the esteem we have for the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, Philippo Laura, Claude Lorrain, the Poussins; the fruit of the two Michael Angelo's, the Battaglia and Campadoglio; the flowers of Mario da Fiori; and this, when the subject itself is noble, is the perfection of painting: As in the best portraits of Vandyke, Rubens, Titian, Raphael, &c. and the histories of the best Italian masters, chiefly those of Raphael, he is the great model of perfection! All the painters being ranked in three several classes according to the degrees of their merit, he must be allowed to possess the first alone.

Common nature is no more fit for a picture than plain narration is for a poem. A painter must raise his ideas beyond what he sees, and form a model of perfection in his own mind which is not to be found in reality; but yet such a one as is probable and rational. Particularly with respect to mankind, he must as it were raise the whole species,

species, and give them all imaginable beauty and grace, dignity and perfection; every several character, whether it be good or bad, amiable or detestable, must be stronger and more perfect.

At court, and elsewhere, amongst people of condition, one sees another sort of beings than in the country, or the remote and inferior parts of the town; and amongst these there are some few that plainly distinguish themselves by their noble and graceful airs and manner. There is an easy gradation in all nature; the most stupid of animals are little more than vegetables, the most sagacious and cunning are hardly inferior to the lowest order of men, as the wisest and most virtuous of these, we are assured, are little below the angels.* One may conceive an order superior to what can any where be found on our globe; a kind of new world may be formed in the imagination, consisting, as this, of people of all degrees and characters, only heightened and improved: A beautiful genteel woman must have her defects overlooked, and what is wanting to compleat her character supplied: A brave man, and one honestly and wisely pursuing his own interest, in conjunction with that of his country, must be imagined more brave, more wise, more exactly and inflexibly honest than any we know, or can hope to see: A villain must be conceived to have something more diabolical than is to be found even amongst us; a gentleman must be more so, and a peasant have more of the gentleman, and so of the rest. With such as these an artist must people his pictures.

Thus the antients have done. Notwithstanding the great and exalted ideas we may have of the

* See my father's hymn to the morning star, n. 3. of his morning thoughts. MS.

people

people of those times from their histories (which probably are improved by the historians * using the same management in their writings as I am recommending to the painters; it was the poet's proper business so to do) one can hardly believe them to be altogether such as we see in the antique statues, bas-reliefs, medals, and intaglias. And thus the best modern painters and sculptors have done. Michael Angelo no where saw such living figures as he cut in marble. Raphael says, himself, writing to his great friend the famous count Baldassar Castiglione, on occasion of the *Galatea* he was then painting, "To represent a perfect beauty, I must examine several beautiful women; with this condition also, that your excellency would be by, to assist me in selecting the most beautiful parts of the most beautiful severally; but as there is a scarcity of truly fine persons, and perhaps a still greater of true judges, whose advice I can avail myself of, I am obliged to recur to a certain model of accomplished beauty that I have formed in my own mind."

Bellori hath given the whole letter in his description of the pictures of Raphael in the Vatican.

A Bolognese nobleman, a great patron of Guercino's, was induced by this last to endeavour to get out of Guido what woman was the model he made use of for his fine and gracious airs of heads. Accordingly he came to see him; and in conversation, while he was admiring one of his fine heads, "for God's sake, Signior Guido, what astonishing beauty of a girl do you hug up to yourself, that supplies you with such divine airs?"

* This they ought not to have done, but they did.

Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.

"I will shew you," said Guido, (who found what he was about) so he called his colour-grinder, a great greasy fellow, with a brutal look like the devil, and bade him sit down, and turn his head and look up to the sky; and then, taking his chalk, drew a Magdalen after him, exactly in the same view and attitude, and same lights and shadows, but as handsome as an angel. The count thought it was done by enchantment. "No," said Guido, "my dear count; but tell your painter, that the beautiful and pure idea must be in the head, and then it is no matter what the model is." *Felsina Pittrice*, tom. ii. p. 80.

When a man enters into that awful gallery at Hampton-Court, he finds himself amongst a sort of people superior to what he has ever seen, and very probably to what those really were. Indeed this is the principal excellence of those wonderful pictures, as it must be allowed to be that part of painting which is preferable to all others.

What a grace and majesty is seen in the great apostle of the Gentiles in all his actions, preaching, rending his garments, denouncing vengeance upon the forcerer! What a dignity is in the other apostles wherever they appear, particularly the prince of them in the carton of the death of Ananias! How infinitely and divinely great, with all his gentleness and simplicity, is the Christ in the boat! But these are exalted characters which have a delicacy in them as much beyond what any of the gods, demi-gods, or heroes of the ancient heathens can admit of, as the christian religion excels the ancient superstition. The proconsul Sergius Paulus has a greatness and grace superior to his character, and equal to what one can suppose Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, or the greatest amongst

amongst the Romans to have had. The common people are like gentlemen; even the fishermen, the beggars, have something in them much above what we see in those orders of men.

And the scenes are answerable to the actors; not even the beautiful gate of the temple, nor any part of the first temple, nor probably any building in the world had that beauty and magnificence as appears in what we see in the carton of healing the cripple. Athens and Lystra appear in these cartons to be beyond what we can suppose they were when Greece was in its utmost glory: Even the place where the apostles were assembled (in the carton of Ananias) is no common room; and though the steps and rails which were made on purpose for them for the exercise of their new function, have something expressive of the poverty and simplicity of the infant church, the curtain behind, which also is part of the apostolical equipage, gives a dignity even to that.

It is true there are some characters which are not to be improved, as there are others impossible to be perfectly conceived, much less expressed. The idea of God no created being can comprehend, the divine mind only can, and it is the brightest there, and infinitely bright!

No statue or picture, no words can reach this character; the Colossean statue of Phidias, the pictures of Raphael, are but faint shadows of this infinite and incomprehensible being. The Thunderer, the Best and Greatest: The Father of Gods and Men, of Homer: The Elohim, the Jehovah, the I Am that I Am of Moses: The Lord of Hosts of the Prophets: Nay, The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: The Alpha and Omega: The All in All of the New Testament.

H

These

These give us not an adequate idea of him; though that comes nearest where not terror and fury, but majesty, power, wisdom, and goodness, are best expressed. "For God is Love."

* May thy idea ever dwell with me,
From reason, not from prejudice deriv'd,
Enlarg'd, improv'd, and brighten'd more and more,
As oriental day, serene and sweet,
When spring and summer for the prize contend:
The richest cordial for the heart! a light
Discovering error's infinite labyrinths!
The ornament and treasure of the soul!
Imperfect as it is.——

That incomparable hand which painted the history of Cupid and Psyche, in the palace of Chigi at Rome, has carried the fictitious deities of the heathens as high as possible, but not beyond what should be conceived of them; as Michael Angelo Buonarota (particularly in two or three drawings I have of him) hath made devils not such as low geniuses represent them, but like those of Milton;

—— His face
Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows,
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge: Cruel his eye——

MILTON'S Par. Lost, B. I. l. 600.

But the proper idea of a devil has such an excess of evil in it as cannot be exaggerated: In all such cases it is sufficient if all be done that can be done: The painter must shew what he aims at, he must give him who views the picture all the assistance he can, and then leave him to supply the rest in

* This from his Hymn to God, ver. 286. MS.

his own imagination; which he will do in proportion as his imagination is lively and correct;

Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

There are other characters which, though inferior to these, are so noble, that he must be a happy man who can conceive them justly, but more so if he can express them: Such are those of Moses, Homer, Xenophon, Alcibiades, Scipio, Cicero, Raphael, &c. If we see these pretended to be given in picture, we expect to see them

—— Comely, and in act

Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin,
As when of old some orator renown'd
In Athens, or free Rome, where eloquence
Flourish'd, since mute, to some great cause address'd
Stood in himself collected, while each part,
Motion, each act won audience e'er the tongue.

MILTON'S *Par. Lost*, B. IX. l. 668.

We expect all that greatness and grace I have been recommending; all is necessary here in order to satisfy us that the history is truly related; as the pleasure we take in having our minds filled with fine and extraordinary ideas is a sufficient reason for raising all the more inferior characters. Life would be an insipid thing indeed if we never saw or had ideas of any thing but what we commonly see, a company of awkward and silly-looking people, doing what is of no consequence but to themselves in their own little affairs; and to see such in picture can give no great pleasure to any who have a true and refined taste.

A history painter must describe all the various characters, real or imaginary; and that, in all their situations, pleased, grieved, angry, hoping, fearing, &c. A face painter has to do with all the

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real characters, except only some few of the meanest, and the most sublime; but not with that variety of sentiments as the other. The whole business of his life is to describe the golden age, when

——— Universal Pan

Knit with the graces, and the hours in dance
Led on th' eternal spring.

MILTON's Par. Lost, B. IV. l. 266.

Every one of his people therefore must appear pleased and in good humour; but varied suitably to the raised character of the person drawn; whether tranquillity and delight be supposed to arise from the sight of a friend, a reflection upon a scheme well laid, a battle gained, success in love, a consciousness of one's own worth, beauty, wit; agreeable news, truth discovered, or from whatever other cause. If a devil were to have his portrait made, he must be drawn as abstracted from his own evil, and stupidly good (to use Milton's words once again).

If some grave characters require an air of thoughtfulness, as if engaged in a diligent search after truth, or in some important project, they must however not appear displeased, unless in some rare instances, as Vandyke has put something of sorrow in one picture of his unfortunate patron king Charles I. (I mean that at Hampton-Court) which I believe was done when he was entering into his troubles, and which is therefore in that respect historical. In general, the painting-room must be like Eden before the fall, like Arcadia; no joyless, turbulent passions must enter there.

Thus, to raise the character, to divest an unbred person of his rusticity, and give him something at least of a gentleman, to make one of a moderate

moderate share of good sense appear to have a competency, a wise man to be more wise, and a brave man to be more so, a modest, discreet woman to have an air something angelical, and so of the rest; and then to add that joy, or peace of mind at least, and in such a manner as is suitable to the several characters, is absolutely necessary to a good face painter; but it is the most difficult part of his art, and the last attained; perhaps it is never so much as thought of by some: All that they aim at is to make such a likeness of the face as shall be known immediately; and that it be young, fair, and handsome; and frequently those for whom the pictures are made expect no more; whether the characters of wisdom or folly be impressed upon them it matters not. Accordingly we see portraits which are perfect burlesques upon the minds of the persons drawn; a wise man shall appear with the air of a fop; a man of spirit and wit, like a smart or a pretty fellow; a modest ingenious man like a beau; a virtuous lady as a mere coquet.

The duke of Buckingham [Villiers] in some company where they were talking of a certain lady, they asked him, "If he knew her?" He said, "He did not." "Why," said they, "that is strange, because she is one of the most extraordinary women perhaps in England. She hath a vast capacity in every branch of knowledge, a great deal of ready wit; hath even learning, not only French and Italian, but classical too; and withal hath as much goodness as she hath parts" "Ay," said the duke, "but then she is damned ugly." "Why, you said you did not know her." "No, but a woman whose beauty is not the first quality to be boasted of,

“ I am sure hath none to boast of.” A painter should observe and pronounce strongly the brightest part of the character of him he draws. To give an air of youth and gaiety to the portrait of one who is entitled to nothing higher, is well enough; but to overlook a noble and sublime character, and substitute this in the place of it, is unpardonable. The only supposing a man capable of being pleased with such a piece of false flattery, is a lampoon upon his understanding.

Nor is the beauty of the face and person, whether as to the age, feature, shape or colour to be unregarded, or (where it can be done) unimproved: Indeed something of this will naturally fall in when the mind is expressed, which cannot be done to advantage without giving some to the body.

But the face painter is under a greater constraint in both respects than he that paints history; the additional grace and greatness he is to give, above what is to be found in the life, must not be thrown in too profusely, the resemblance must be preserved, and appear with vigour; the picture must have both. Then it may be said, that the gentleman or lady makes a fine or a handsome picture. But the likeness not being regarded, it is not they but the painter that makes it; nor is there any great difficulty in making such fine pictures.

But there is a very great one indeed, and it is the last effort of a truly skilful portrait painter, so to improve, as to be still presently known; though this cannot always succeed to the greatest, because some eyes cannot discover a likeness that departs ever so little, with what advantage soever, from what they see before them.

Some

Some company coming to see their son's picture at Sir Godfrey Kneller's, stood staring about the room to look for it; and then asked Sir Godfrey where it was, when it was all the while before them. This did not use to be the case with him; and accordingly he was provoked, yet kept his temper; but as soon as they were gone, he turned to Bing, who always attended him on these occasions, "My God, Bing, I did never paint a liker picture than that young lord; but, by God man, I did put a little sense in his face, and now his friends do not know their fool again."

I was lately observing, with a great deal of pleasure, how the ancients had succeeded in the three several ways of managing portraits: I happened to have then before me (amongst others) several medals of the emperor Maximinus, who was particularly remarkable for a long chin: One medal of him had that, but that the artist might be sure of a likeness, he had exaggerated it: Another had a mind to flatter, and he had pared off about half of it: But these as they wanted the just resemblance, so there was a poverty in them; they were destitute of that life and spirit which the other had, where nature seems to have been more closely followed. In making portraits we must keep nature in view; if we launch out into the deep we are lost.

What it is that gives the grace and greatness I am treating of, whether in history or portraits, is hard to say. The following rules may however be of some use on this occasion.

The airs of the heads must especially be regarded. This is commonly the first thing taken notice of when one comes into company, or into any public assembly, or at the first sight of any particular

person; * and this first strikes the eye, and affects the mind when we see a picture, a drawing, &c.

The same regard must be had to every action and motion. The figures must not only do what is proper, and in the most commodious manner, but as people of the best sense, and breeding, (their character being considered) would, or should perform such actions †. The painter's people must be good actors; they must have learned to use a human body well; they must sit, walk, lie, salute, do every thing with grace. There must be no awkward, sheepish, or affected behaviour, no strutting, or silly pretence to greatness; no bombast in action: nor must there be any ridiculous contorsion of the body, nor even such appearances, or fore-shortenings as are displeasing to the eye, though the same attitude in another view might be perfectly good.

The contours must be large, square, and boldly pronounced to produce greatness; and delicate, and finely waved and contrasted to be gracious.

* There is a beauty in a line, in the shape of a finger, or toe, even in that of a reed, or leaf, or the most inconsiderable things in nature: I have drawings of Giulio Romano of something of this kind; his insects and vegetables are natural, but as

* A face painter should frequently reflect on that fine saying of the great Isabella of Castile, "That an agreeable air was a letter of recommendation;" and not forget that story that Pliny tells of a certain queen, whom a painter (for some injury he thought he had received from her) painted in the arms of a groom; but then he had painted her most exquisitely beautiful, and so she forgave him.

† They must be like Tibullus Sulpicia,
 Illam, quicquid agit, quoque vestigia flectit,
 Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.

much

much above those of other painters as his men are: there is that in these things which common eyes see not, but which the great masters know how to give, and they only.

But this is not all: nature with all its beauties has its poverties, superfluities, and defects, which are to be avoided, and supplied; but with great care, and judgment, that instead of exceeding nature, it be not injured.

The draperies must have broad masses of light and shadow, and noble large folds to give a greatness; and these artfully subdivided, add grace. As in that admirable figure of St. Paul preaching, of which I have already spoken, the drapery would have had a greatness if that whole broad light had been kept, and that part which is flung over his shoulder, and hangs down his back had been omitted: but this adds also a grace. Not only the large folds and masses must be observed, but the shapes of them, or they may be great, but not beautiful.

The linen must be clean and fine; the silks and stuffs new; and the best of the kind.

Lace, embroidery, gold and jewels must be sparingly employed. Nor are flowered silks so much used by the best masters as plain; nor these so much as stuffs, or fine cloth; and this not to save themselves trouble, of which at the same time they have been profuse enough in a more proper place. In the cartons Raphael hath sometimes made silks, and some of his draperies are scolloped, some a little striped, some edged with a kind of gold lace, but generally they are plain. Though he seems to have taken more pains than needed in the landscapes, as he hath also in those badges of spiritual dignity on the heads of Christ, and the apostles:

apostles: but these, as all other ensigns of grandeur and distinction, as they have been wisely invented to procure respect, awe and veneration, give a greatness, as well as beauty to a picture.

It is of importance to a painter to consider well the manner of cloathing his people. Mankind have shewn an infinite variety of fancy in this, and for the most part have disguised rather than adorned human bodies. But the truest taste in this matter the ancient Greeks and Romans seem to have had; at least the great idea we have of those brave people prejudices us in favour of whatever is theirs, so that it shall appear to us to be graceful and noble: upon either of which accounts, whether of a real or imagined excellence, that manner of cloathing is to be chosen by a painter when the nature of his subject will admit of it. Possibly, improvements may be made, and should be endeavoured, provided one keeps this antique taste in view, so as to preserve the benefit of prejudice just now spoken of. And this very thing Raphael hath done with great success, particularly in the cartons. Those who, in representing ancient stories, have followed the habits of their own times, or gone off from the antique, have suffered by it; as most of those of the Venetian school have done.

But howsoever a figure is clad, this general rule is to be observed, that neither must the naked be lost in the drapery, nor too conspicuous; as in many of the statues, and bas-reliefs of the ancients, and which (by the way) they were forced to, because to have done otherwise would not have had a good effect in stone. The naked in a cloathed figure, like the anatomy in a naked one, should be shewn, but not with affectation.

Portrait

Portrait painters, seeing the disadvantage they were under in following the dress commonly worn, have invented one peculiar to pictures in their own way, which is a composition partly this, and partly something purely arbitrary.

Such is the ordinary habit of the ladies, that how becoming soever they may be supposed, as being worn by them, or such as we are accustomed to, or upon whatever other account, it is agreed on all hands that in a picture they have but an ill air; and accordingly are rejected for what the painters have introduced in lieu of it, which is indeed handsome, and perhaps may be improved.

In the gentlemens pictures the case is very different, it is not not so easy to determine as to their drapery.

What is to be said for the common dress is, that

It gives a greater resemblance; and
Is historical as to that article.

The arguments for the other are, that

They suit better with the ladies pictures, which (as has been observed) are universally thus dressed;

They are not so affected with the change of the fashion as the common dress; and

Are handsomer; that is, have more Grace and Greatness.

Let us see how the case will stand, this latter consideration of handsomeness being for the present set aside.

The first argument in favour of the arbitrary loose dress seems to have no great weight; nor is there so much as is commonly thought in the second; because in those pictures which have that kind of drapery, so much of the dress of the
time

time is always, and must be retained, and this in the most obvious, and material parts, that they are influenced by the change of fashion in a manner as much as those in the habit commonly worn. For proof of this I refer you to what was done when the great wigs, and spreading huge neck-cloths were in fashion. So that here does not seem to be weight enough to balance against what is on the other side, even when the greatest improvement as to the colour, or materials of the common dress is made, for still there will be a sufficient advantage upon account of resemblance and history, to keep down the scale.

Let us now take in the argument of Grace and Greatness, and see what effect that will have.

The way to determine now is to fix upon the manner of following the common dress, whether it shall be with, or without improvement, and in what proportion: this being done, let that you have fixed upon be compared with the arbitrary loose dress in competition with it, and see if the latter has so much the advantage in Grace and Greatness as to over-balance what the other had, when these were not taken in: if it hath, this is to be chosen; if not, the common dress.

Thus I have put the matter into the best method I was able in order to assist those concerned to determine for themselves, which they can best do, fancy having so great a part in the affair. And so much for this controversy.

As it hath been frequently observed, but never accounted for that I know of, that a portrait seems to look at every one in the room, from whatever point it is seen; I will here explain the mystery. It consists only in this; the life is round, the picture is flat; look at a man, the lines vary with

with your position; it is otherwise with a portrait; there you always see those of an eye bent on him with whom the person converseth; the eye was drawn to view that which views the eye; nor can your change of place move the painted feature from its given direction.

There is an artificial Grace and Greatness arising from the opposition of their contraries. As, in the tent of Darius by Le Brun, the wife and daughters of that prince owe something of their beauty and majesty to the hideous figures that are about them. But a greater man than Le Brun seems to have condescended to be beholden to this artifice in the banquet of the gods at the marriage of Cupid and Psyche; for Venus who comes in dancing is surrounded with foyles, as, the Hercules, the face of his lion's skin, Vulcan, Pan, and the mask in her hand of the muse next to her. Some subjects carry this advantage along with them; as, the story of Andromeda and the monster; Galatea with the Tritons; and in all such where the two contraries, the masculine and feminine beauties are opposed, (as the figures of Hercules and Dejanira for instance) these mutually raise, and strengthen each other's characters. The holy family is also a very advantageous subject for the same reason. I need not enlarge here; the artifice is well known, and of great extent; it is practised by poets, historians, divines, &c. as well as painters.

What I have hitherto said will be of little use to him who does not fill and supply his mind with noble images. A painter should therefore read the best books, such as Homer, Milton, Virgil, Spenser, Thucydides, Livy, Plutarch, &c. but chiefly the holy scripture; where is to be found an inexhaustible spring, and the greatest variety of the
most

most sublime thoughts, expressed in the noblest manner in the world. He should also frequent the brightest company, and avoid the rest: Raphael was perpetually conversant with the finest geniuses, and the greatest men at Rome; and such as these were his intimate friends. Giulio Romano, Titian, Rubens, Vandyke, &c. to name no more, knew well how to set a value upon themselves in this particular. But the works of the best master in painting and sculpture should be as a painter's daily bread, and will afford him delicious nourishment.

Good God, what a noble spirit has human nature been honoured with! Look upon what the ancients have done; look into the gallery of Hampton-Court; turn over a book of well-chosen drawings, then will it be found that the Psalmist was divinely inspired, when, applying himself to his Creator, he said of man, 'Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, thou hast crowned him with glory, and honour!'

'If I had been shewn a picture of Raphael' (said Carlo Maratti * to a friend of mine) 'and, not having ever heard of him, had been told it was the work of an angel, I should have believed it.' The same friend assured me he had seen an entire book consisting of about two or three hundred drawings of heads which the same Carlo had made after that of the Antinoüs, and which he said he had selected out of about ten times the number he

* This was Mr. Hugh Howard, an intimate acquaintance of Carlo's, as he was of my father; and who after his death was so good as to lend me, with leave to copy it which I did, a manuscript he had himself made from Bellori's manuscript life of this great master; and which Card. Albani had lent him to copy for himself, far more compleat than that afterwards published.

had

had drawn after that one head; but confessed he had never been able to reach what he saw in his model. Such was the excellency of the sculptor! and such the diligence, perseverance, and modesty of Carlo!

Fiamingo continuing to improve and polish a figure of his, that was his favourite production, (and is that of the flying Cupid that hath just shot his arrow, which we have here in England) a friend who stood by, said, he could not imagine what he could add to the perfection it was then in. 'Ah, my dear friend,' said he, 'you don't see the original that I am labouring to come up to, which is in my head, but not yet in my hand *.' And this hath ever been the case of all men of true and genuine genius, in all arts and sciences; and I am persuaded that the author of this Antinoüs did not express all that himself conceived, no more than Fiamingo, who is, in my opinion, the foremost of all the modern sculptors, both for correctness and purity of style; and comes the nearest to, if he doth not wholly equal, the taste of the author of that Antinoüs that Carlo Maratti was so justly fond of.

The ancients possessed both the excellent qualities I have been treating of, among whom Apelles is distinguished for grace. Raphael was the modern Apelles, not however without a prodigious degree of greatness. His style is not perfectly antique, but seems to be the effect of a fine genius, accomplished by study in that excellent school: it is not antique, but (may, I dare to say it) it is better, and that, by choice, by judgment! Giulio Romano had Grace and Greatness, more upon the antique taste, but not without a great mixture of

* Bellori, vit. p. 281.

what is peculiarly his own, and admirably good, but never to be imitated *. Polidore in his best works was altogether antique. The old Florentine school had a kind of greatness that, like Hercules in his cradle, promised wonders to come, and which promise was accomplished, in a great measure, by Leonardo da Vinci (who also had grace); but more fully and perfectly by Michael Angelo Buonarota: his style is his own, not antique, but he had a sort of Greatness in the utmost degree, which sometimes ran into the extream of terrible; though in many instances he has a fine seasoning of Grace. I have a woman's head of him of a delicacy hardly inferior to Raphael, but retains the Greatness, which was his proper character. When Parmegiano copied him, and flung in his own sweetness, they, together, make a fine composition, of which I have several examples: I do not say however that they are preferable to what is entirely of Michael Angelo, or to what is entirely of Parmegiano; but they are as if they were of another hand, of a character between both: for Parmegiano was infinitely sweet! Grace shines in all he touched, and a Greatness supports it, so as one would not wish him other than he is; his style is entirely his own, not in the least modern, nor very much upon the antique: what he did seems to flow from nature, and are the ideas of one in the golden age, or state of innocence: rich in invention, and alway charming, with a certain greatness, which, though more condescending, and, as it were, familiar, than that of Raphael or of Michael Angelo, is not the less noble for being more delicious.

Multa directum levat aura cycnum.

Dear Parmegiano! I have a great number of ex-

* *Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.* HOR.

quisite

quisite drawings of him. Baccio Bandinelli had a great style, and sometimes not without grace. Corregio had grace not inferior to Parmegiano, and rather more greatness; but different in both from him, and from the antique: what he had was also his own, and was chiefly employed on religious subjects, or what had nothing terrible in them. Titian, Tintoret, Paulo Veronese, and others of the Venetian school have greatness and grace, but it is not antique, however it is Italian. Annibale Carracci was rather great than genteel; though he was that too; and Guido's character is grace. Rubens was great, but raised upon a Flemish idea. Nicholas Poussin was truly great and graceful, and justly styled the French Raphael. Salvator Rosa's landscapes are great, as those of Claude Lorrain are delicate: such is the style of Filippo Laura; that of the Borgognone is great. To conclude, Vandyke had something of both these good qualities, but not much, nor always; he generally kept to nature, chosen in its best moments, and something raised and improved; for which reason he is in that particular, and when he fell not lower, the best model for portrait painting, unless we prefer a chimæra of the painter, to a true, or at most a civil representation of ourselves, or friends; and would have a cheat put upon posterity; and our own, or friends resemblance lost, and forgotten for the sake of it.

Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.

As in reasoning a man ought not to rest upon authorities, but to have recourse to those principles on which these are, or ought to be founded; so, to rely upon what others have done, is to be always copying. A painter therefore should have original ideas of Grace and Greatness, taken from

his own observation of nature, under the conduct and assistance however of those who with success have trod the same path before him. What he sees excellent in others he must not implicitly follow, but make his own, by entering into the reason of the thing, as those must have done who originally produced that excellence; for such things happen not by chance.

The notions of mankind vary in relation to beauty; it may be worth a painter's while to observe what were those the ancients had in these matters, and then to consider whether they agree with the present taste, and if they do not, whether they or we are in the right, if it can be determined by reason; if it depends upon fancy only, then let him consider whether the prejudices we are apt to have for the ancients will ballance against the opinion of the present age. As to the draperies, the ancients must be studied with caution, as has been already noted.

Instead of making caricaturas, a sort of lampoons of peoples faces (a foolish custom of burlesquing them, too much used) painters should take a face*, and make an antique medal, or bas-relief of it, by divesting it of its modern disguises, raising the air and the features, and giving

* Sir Godfrey Kneller had painted the duke of Hamilton's picture at whole length, and when quite finished, sent to him to desire he would call and see it before it was sent home, that, if there should be any thing he would have altered, it might be done before it was hung up. The duke looked a great while at it, said nothing; serious—went to the glass and looked at himself, returned to the picture; went back to the glass—rather out of humour.—Sir Godfrey was uneasy, piqued—asked, with some warmth, if his grace disliked the picture. Z—d's, said he, when I look in the glass I am a poltron, when I look there I am a man of quality. And then took out his pocket book, and presented him with a bank bill. No, my lord, said

it the dress of those times, and suitable to the character intended. Our nation is allowed on all hands to furnish as proper models as any other in the world, with respect to external grace and beauty: nor perhaps can ancient Greece or Rome boast of brighter characters than we; would to God we had not also as great instances of the contrary!

Lastly †, a painter's own mind should have Grace and Greatness; the mind itself should be beautifully ‡, and nobly formed.

But, how beautiful and nobly formed soever the mind may be, it is moreover necessary that it should enjoy repose and tranquillity. When it is pleased and joyous, then is the season for these glorious qualities to exert themselves in great and magnificent, as well as agreeable and gracious ideas; but above all, to have a clear and candid conscience, and resigned to whatever providence shall think fit. Then will the mind be turned up to enjoyment; indifferent things will be delicious, and calamities themselves tolerable.

For, as in writing, purest excellence
Is seen, proportion'd to the reader's sense;
As he the author's meaning penetrates
He judgeth, and to his mind the charm translates;

said sir Godfrey, by God I will not receive more than one for the same picture; you haveover paid it already.—Dr. Campbell. This story the duke told me, on having just read these books of my father, of which he said to me, and Mr. Ramsey the painter, and a great deal of other company last night, (Sunday, his assembly night, 28 March 63.) the most obliging and the most sensible things; and among them, told this story to explain what he thought my father had done by his subject, as he found it left by the other writers.

† As according to the Italian proverb, every painter paints himself.

‡ Michael Angelo said, that “a painter should not scrupulously follow the mechanical measure of his model, but “should have the compasses in his eyes.” Belleri, vit. p. 10.

116 GRACE AND GREATNESS.

So nature's form by him is loveliest seen
Who is himself most beautiful within.

The Author, Morning Thoughts (9 Aug. 41.)

For good in the barometer of life
Ascends and falls, nor ever fix'd remains :
But every season has peculiar sweets,
Or more, or less, which he who can extract,
And feed upon, has learn'd the art to live.

HYMN to GOD. MS.

There is no man, no nor any animal, or even created thing, that hath not its good and bad. The art, the wisdom, the happiness of mankind, the only rational being here, is, like the bee, to pick out, and with all his skill and industry, extract the honey; and not the poison, like the spider.

Some people may fancy it is of use to them to depreciate and be out of humour with every thing; it is of none to painters: They ought to view all things in the best light, and to the greatest advantage: They should do in life as I have been saying they must in their pictures; not make caricatures and burlesques; not represent things worse than they are; not amuse themselves with drollery and buffoonery; but raise and improve what they can, and carry the rest as high as possible.

Yet genius and industry are not alone sufficient; virtue, as it is truly great and lovely in itself, as it arises from the wisest and most noble sentiments, it produces such; and a mind impregnated with these is the most likely to conceive and execute what one polluted and incumbered with vice cannot. A virtuous man has generally more tranquillity, health and vigour, and consequently fewer interruptions and difficulties, and makes the best improvement of all his time; so that the common

complaint

complaint of the shortness of life, with respect to the attainment of arts, and the accomplishment of great designs, is not so just as it seems to be; it is short, but men contract it by their own mismanagement.

I know it will be said, that great and lively spirits are naturally subject to violent passions and appetites, and difficult to be kept in due bounds: But is not this because there is not yet strength of mind enough? And though there have been great vicious men, would they not have been greater had they been virtuous? As to painters, it is true, many of them have been a scandal to their profession; but these are, for the most part, of the lowest class of the considerable painters: Those whose works we so highly esteem were men of solid sense and virtue; or if some of them were not free from all vice, their faults were such as are the most excusable, such as the best minds are susceptible of; this hindered them not from being great men indeed; however, it is undeniable, had they arrived to a strength of mind so as to be virtuous throughout, they had been greater painters than they were; and the world would have been better furnished, and more enriched and adorned with their works, as they would have enjoyed a greater share of health, and have been longer lived.

A painter ought to have a sweet and happy turn of mind, that great and lovely ideas may have an easy and natural reception there; and these enlarge that happiness which themselves were derived from; they nourish their amiable parent, and both mutually cherish each other. Few professions have this advantage; lawyers, physicians, and divines, are frequently engaged in such circumstances, as though custom may render them tolerable, yet can never be agreeable; and moreover have to do with

people too often when they are out of humour. A painter's head is, or ought to be, filled with the noblest thoughts of the deity, the bravest actions of mankind in all ages, the finest and most exalted ideas of human nature, and he is to observe all the beauties of the creation. A face painter's business is with those only who are in good humour, or will seem to be so while with him; this, if he has a true picturesque taste of pleasure, will contribute exceedingly to produce this happy state of mind which is so necessary to him. How great a variety soever there may be in mens tastes of pleasure, and what unhappy mixtures soever they may make, this will be generally allowed to be delightful. And there is one particular which I will remark, because I believe it is not commonly taken notice of, and this is the vast advantage the sight hath above the other senses with respect to pleasure; those receive it, but it is by starts and flashes, with long insipid intervals, and frequently worse; but the pleasures of the eye are like those of heaven, perpetual, and without satiety; and if offensive objects appear, we can reject them in an instant. It is true other men may see, and will be in raptures where another is insensible. The painter Nicomaches, looking with transport at Zeuxis's Helena, said to one who wondered what he could see there to be so delighted with, "Take my eyes, and you will be as much delighted, but not with such eyes as a painter or a connoisseur sees; they have no speculation in those eyes which they do glare with." A man is taught to see as he is other sciences, for a science it is, and a most useful and valuable one, as the beauties of nature open themselves to our sight by little and little, after a long practice in the art of seeing.* A judicious well-

* *Quam multa vident pictores, quæ nos non videmus?*

instructed

instructed eye sees a wonderful beauty in the shapes and colours of the commonest things, and what are comparatively inconsiderable; nay, such a one will discover something pleasing where another finds only poverty or deformity.

I am very sensible, as all created beings in the universe seek pleasure as their chiefest good, † there is an infinite variety of tastes with relation to it: Every species has some peculiar to themselves, and man is in this an epitome of the whole; there are certain classes amongst them who can no more relish or enjoy the pleasure of others, than a fish can those of a bird, or a tyger of a lamb: An enthusiast, who shuts himself up in a monastery, does not forsake, but pursue pleasure as eagerly as a debauché, only both reject what the other calls pleasure, but which themselves, as their minds are constituted, cannot enjoy, for what themselves can have and relish; I neither blame nor pity those who differ from me; it is very fit there should be this variety of tastes; if we were all of a mind we should be perpetually at variance with one another; I only observe, that though another man may possibly despise what I have been speaking of as a delicious kind of enjoyment, he that is incapable of this kind of pleasure has not a mind truly turned for painting.

But not only that the mind may be at liberty, and in humour to apply itself to the fine ideas necessary to painters, and that it may be filled with the noblest and most beautiful sentiments, they should have grace and greatness there in order to put those properties into their works: For (as it has been observed by others before me, and must

† Sequitur sua quemque voluptas.

be true in the main from the nature of things) painters paint themselves. A trifling spirit will naturally look about for and fix upon something comical and foppish, if it be to be found, and will imagine it if it be not; that to him, is what great and beautiful is to another whose mind has a better turn. One will overlook or debase a fine character, the other will raise a mean one. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Suppose a man well acquainted with the several styles of Raphael and Michael Angelo, but a stranger to their characters, and let him be told that one of these artists was a fine gentleman, good-natured, prudent, modest, a companion and friend of the greatest men, whether for quality or wit, then at Rome, and a favourite of Leo X. the politest man in the world; and that the other was rough, bold, fierce, &c. that he and Julius II. (the most impetuous spirit alive) mutually loved each other; I say let such a one be told this, it would be impossible for him not to know which was the work of Raphael, and which of Michael Angelo. One might make the same experiment upon others with the like success.

That the Greeks have had a beauty and majesty in their sculpture and painting beyond any other nation, is agreed on all hands; the reason is, they painted and carved themselves. When you see and admire what they have done, remember Salamis and Marathon where they fought, and Thermopylæ where they devoted themselves for the liberty of their country; "Go, stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians we lie here by their command," was written on the graves of these latter. When at the theatre, in a play of Æschylus, something was said which favoured of impiety, the whole audience

audience took fire, and rose at once, crying out, "Let us destroy the reproacher of the gods:" Amynias his brother immediately leaped upon the stage, and produced his shoulder, from whence he had lost his arm at the battle of Salamis; alledging also the merit of his other brother Cynægryrus, who at the same time bravely sacrificed himself for his country; the people unanimously condemned Æschylus, but gave his life to his brother Amynias. These were Greeks! These were the people who shortly after carried painting and sculpture to so great a height; they were such men as these, who had that prodigious grace and greatness in their works which we so justly admire. Other nations have had greater advantages than they, except in this; but magnanimity was their characteristic.

The ancient Romans fill the second place; grace and greatness is also in their works, for they were a brave people; but they confessed the superiority of the other in condescending to be their imitators.

Longinus says, the *Iliad* of Homer is the flowing, and the *Odyssey* is the ebbing of a great ocean. The same may be said of the ancient and modern Italians.

O Rome! thou happy repository of so many stupendous works of art which my longing eyes have never seen, nor shall see, thou wert fated to be the mistress of the world! when (as in the natural course of sublunary things it must happen) thou couldest no longer support an empire, raised and maintained by arms, thou (upon a foundation, improbable enough at first sight, and without attentively considering the folly, credulity and superstition of the bulk of mankind) hast raised another, of a different nature indeed, but of vast extent

extent and power, and governed at ease and without hazard: It is one of the most amazing instances of human policy that the world ever saw! No wonder then that as ancient Rome, so modern Italy, has carried painting to such a height.

Whatever degeneracy may have crept in, from causes which it is not my present business to enquire into, no nation under heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans as ours. There is a haughty courage, an elevation of thought, a greatness of taste, a love of liberty, a simplicity and honesty among us, which we inherit from our ancestors, and which belong to us as Englishmen; and it is in these this resemblance consists. I could exhibit a long catalogue of soldiers, statesmen, orators, mathematicians, philosophers, &c. and all living in or near our own times, which are proofs of what I advance, and consequently do honour to our country, and to human nature. But as I confine myself to arts, and such as have an affinity to painting, and moreover avoid to mention on this occasion the names of any now alive (though many of those I have in view will immediately occur to the thoughts of every man) I will only instance in Inigo Jones for architecture, and Shakespeare and Milton, the one for dramatic, the other for epic poetry, and leave them to seat themselves at the table of fame amongst the most illustrious of the ancients.

A time may come when future writers may be able to add the name of an English painter. But as it is in nature where from the seed is first produced the blade, then the green ear, and lastly the ripe corn, so national virtues sprout up, first in lesser excellencies, and proceed by an easy gradation. Greece and Rome had not painting and
sculpture

sculpture in their perfection till after they had exerted their natural vigour in humbler instances. I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet; but considering the necessary connection of causes and events, and upon seeing some links of that fatal chain, I will venture to pronounce (as exceedingly probable) that if ever the ancient great and beautiful taste in painting revives, it will be in England; but not till English painters, conscious of the dignity of their country, and of their profession, resolve to do honour to both by piety, virtue, magnanimity, benevolence and industry, and a contempt of every thing that is really unworthy of them.

And now I cannot forbear^{*} wishing that some younger painter than myself, and one who has had greater and more early advantages would exert himself, and practise the magnanimity I have been recommending, in this single instance of attempting and hoping only to equal the greatest masters of whatsoever age or nation. What were they which we are not, or may not be? What helps had any of them which we have not? Nay, we have several which some of them were destitute of: I will only mention one, and that is a very considerable one; it is our religion, which has opened a new and a noble-scene of things; we have more just and enlarged notions of the deity, and more exalted ones of human nature than the ancients could possibly have: And as there are some fine characters peculiar to the christian religion, it moreover affords some of the noblest subjects that ever were thought of for a picture.

OF THE SUBLIME.

—— Higher argument
 Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
 That name, unless an age too late, or cold
 Climate, or years damp my intended wing
 Depress'd, and much it may if all be mine,
 Not her's, who brings it nightly to my ear.
 Descend from heav'n Urania. ——— MILTON.

THE Sublime is much talked of, but what is meant by this term * is not well agreed on; for which reason, before I make use of it, I will take the privilege that every man hath of explaining his own meaning: I will say what I understand by it, and why I do so; and that, without entering into a formal dispute upon any point wherein I differ from others. It is a word that at present conveys but a confused, uncertain idea, or rather none at all; for, as I said, its signification is not agreed on; I therefore fix one to it for my own use, and for that of others, if they like it; if not, they may do as I do, explain it in their own way, and use it accordingly. It is a wild word; and I am endeavouring to tame it, and make it serviceable; and as it is chiefly used with relation to writing, I will first consider it in that view.

By the sublime in general I mean the most excellent of what is excellent, as the excellent is the best of what is good. The dignity of a man consists chiefly in his capacity of thinking, and of communicating his ideas to another; the greatest and most noble thoughts, images or sentiments, conveyed to us in the best chosen words, I take

* See Boileau's works, tom. II.

therefore

therefore to be the perfect sublime in writing; the admirable, the marvellous.

But as there may be degrees even in the sublime, something short of the utmost may be also sublime.

Thought and language are two distinct excellencies: There are few who are capable of adding dignity to a great subject, or even of doing right to such a one; in some cases none: The bulk of mankind conceive not greatly, nor do they know how to utter the conceptions they have to the best advantage; and those who have higher capacities exert them but rarely, and on few occasions: Hence it is that we so justly admire what is so excellent, and so uncommon.

The great manner of thinking (as thought in general) is either pure invention, or what arises upon hints suggested from without.

That "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," had been a noble thought had it been invention; and more or less so as the inventor had understood it himself: And if he had gone about to convey that idea to others, it might have occasioned more to explain and illustrate it.

As this original thought was conveyed to Moses by inspiration, and to us very concisely by him (supposing he had said no more of it than these words) though it could but have appeared great to any one that conceived tolerably, it would have done so more or less according to the different capacities of men, and their several manners of thinking; and which would have given scope to invention, though the first hint was from another. For creation may be conceived as the producing of this globe and its inhabitants, and of the sun, moon and stars, and that out of nothing; or as
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the formation of these things from a chaos; or as the original of universal matter; or, lastly, as + together with that, modified as we see it, of all spiritual beings; that is, of all sorts of existences whatsoever, God himself excepted, who must be conceived to be perfect and happy, though alone existing eternal ages before this great revolution.

To be sublime the thought must be great: What is mean and trifling is incapable of it: There must be something that fills the mind, and this with dignity.

And it is not always necessary that such thoughts be strictly just and philosophical in all cases: That of the creation I have been speaking of, as it is great in what sense soever it is understood, though the different senses are not equally so, yet any of them may be sublime; for all we can say of God is infinitely short of what he is; and notwithstanding the utmost that can be said, even that comparatively low idea of God, as it is the best that can be attained to of that most sublime being, or rather the only sublime one, when compared with all others, must be esteemed sublime.

But though greatness is essential, and truth is not, a great and useful truth is preferable to what is but equally great, and either not true, or not of

+ God spake, and angels and archangels were,
And spirits immortal first began to be;
All but himself, he ever liv'd, and must,
In full perfection, happy tho' alone.
God spake; the void immense was full, and worlds,
And peopled worlds innumerable shone;
Nature, yet unexisting heard him call,
Life, being, substance, form, receiv'd with joy,
This instant was not, and this instant was,
From nothing all; and GOD WAS ALL IN ALL.

Opening of his HYMN to GOD. MS.

use :

use: A great idea of the power of God may be sublime as well as another of his goodness; but the latter will have a beauty in it to us which is wanting in the former. "Thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones," would therefore be preferable upon that account to "let there be light, and there was light," if they were otherwise equal.

We know so little of what is possible to be, even on our own globe, that there is a great latitude as to images, even when what is said is to be literally taken; as for hyperboles and other figures, every one knows they give scope enough; however, in either case, what is absurd or ridiculous must be avoided. But the sentiments must be just and rational to be sublime; thus far truth is necessary, or at least natural probability; the sentiments must be such as it is supposed a man might have; and, if he had, he would not be extravagant and romantic; whether ever any man had really such, or at least practised accordingly, is not so material. What I have heard St. Augustin say somewhere, "If I was Lord God, and he bishop of Hippo, I would become bishop of Hippo that he might be Lord God," is a profane rant, not a sublime sentiment. As that of Lopez de Vega in his divine meditation, "O my God, I am so afflicted for having offended Zaca, that I should slay myself or Zaca, hadst thou not commanded me to love my enemies." It is plain that this is a wit that is making a fally of his imagination rather than a picture of his heart. The father of
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the Horatii, in the tragedy of Corneille, has carried magnanimity to the utmost height; when he was told two of his sons were killed, and the other fled, he regrets not the loss of the two, but all his concern is for the shameful flight of the other; "One against three! What would you have had him done? Died." Perhaps Hudibras said a wiser thing, though as it is ludicrously spoken it could not have been sublime had the sentiment been great as well as just:

He that runs may fight again,
Which he can never do that's slain.

But this of the old man is truly sublime, though upon the very borders of extravagance, for the sentiment is noble; and though it were really unreasonable, the manners of the ancient Romans would justify it: Notwithstanding all which, Boileau has furnished me with another more beautiful, because as great and more rational: He cites it from the Athaliah of Racine as an instance of the perfect sublime in all respects. Abner represents to the high priest, that Athaliah was enraged against himself and all the Levitical order; his answer is,

* Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots
Sait aussi des mechans arrêter les complots;
Soumis avec respect à sa volonté sainte,
Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, & n'ai point d'autre crainte.

Supposing an equal degree of greatness, where there is most solidity there is most beauty, it is the most sublime.

* He who the ocean's violence restrains,
Within due bounds men's wickedness contains;
What God inflicts with reverence I bear,
And fearing him can have no other fear.

As

As the thoughts, so the language of the sublime must be the most excellent; what that is, is the question. Whether it be confined to the florid, to magnificent and sonorous words, tours, figures, &c. or whether brevity, simplicity, or even common and low words are the best on some occasions?

Poetry, history, declamation, &c. have their peculiar styles; but the sublime (as our high court of parliament is not under the restrictions which inferior courts are) is not limited to any particular style: The best, is the sublime language, and that is best which sets the idea in the strongest light; that is the great end and use of words; but if those which please the ear do equally serve that purpose, no doubt they are preferable, but not otherwise. Plain and common words paint a great image sometimes stronger than any other.

———— We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

* SHAKESPEARE'S TEMPEST.

———— To me comes a creature,
Sometimes her head on one side, some another,
I never saw a vessel of like sorrow
So fill'd, and so becoming: In pure white robes,
Like very sanctity she did approach
My cabin where I lay; thrice bow'd before me,
And (gasping to begin some speech) her eyes
Became two spouts —————

———— And so with shrieks
She melted into air —————

The WINTER'S TALE.

* Τὶ δὲ τις? τίς ἐστις? σκιάς ὅρα ἀνθρώπου.

What is some-body? What is no-body? Man is the
dream of a shadow.

PINDAR.

K

And

And more than Echo talk'd along the walls.

POPE'S ABELARD.

Oh now does death line his dead chaps with steel,
The swords of soldiers are his teeth, his phangs,
And now he feasts, mouthing the flesh of men
In undetermin'd diff'rences of kings.

KING JOHN.

Low language may sometimes debase the idea, and draw down the mind from its due pitch, but that being avoided, the sublime may come to us by that mean voiture, the image may have more force than when described in greater words: The spouts which the eyes of the ghost in Shakespeare are said to be, are overlooked by the mind's being filled with the idea of the gush of tears pouring down; the great image bears so strongly upon us, as to drive out the other; but if these eyes had been compared to rivers, cataracts, or seas, it would not have touched like these spouts.

Simplicity, and brevity, even one word has sometimes more force and beauty than the most magnificent and sonorous language, and the most harmonious periods.

The laconic answer of the father of the Horatii I mentioned just now, doubles the force of the great sentiment; that single word is a strong and masterly touch of the pencil which paints the mind resolute and determined better than the finest speech the poet could have invented.

"Let there be light, and there was light," considered only as an historical account of that part of the creation, admirably describes the instantaneous change from darkness to light; expatiating, however elegantly, would have spoiled the image. Milton is more diffused, but then he paints not
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the same thing, it is a very different image; the light, according to him, came on slowly :

Let there be light, said God, and forthwith light
 Etherial, first of things, quintessence pure
 Sprung from the deep, and from her native east
 To journey thro' the airy gloom began,
 Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun
 Was not ; she in a cloudy tabernacle
 Sojourn'd the while —————

MILTON's Par. Lost, B. VII. l. 243.

Here the slow description paints the motion of the light as of a vapour exhaled from the earth, and rising, and increasing by little and little, it is as the dawning of the day behind the hills ; that of Moses is lightning, or a magazine that has taken fire on a sudden, it flashes as you read.

Milton's idea is very poetical, though he hath lost the divine simplicity of this concise and simple image ; which he hath done, in order to account for the distance between the creation of light on the first day, and that of the sun on the fourth.

And I believe every man who reads with taste the prose text only, though a translation of Job and the Psalms (especially that of these last in the Common-Prayer) will find the plain and natural simplicity of this, will affect him more than any of the poetical paraphrases.

But this is the least part of the important image in the inspired writer, and the least instance of the conciseness of his stile in this place ; for what is implied is a vast idea of the power of God, whose word in an instant produced so noble and so useful a creature as light ; the words I have used, or much better, the best that could have been chosen, could not have struck the imagination so strongly as this hint has done.

This way of expressing a thing not directly, but by a tour, is very poetical and sublime. I will give another instance of it. "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings!" The image here given is of no consequence; what is intended is a dry precept; "Take care to be a messenger of good news only, if you would be acceptable;" but this way of giving it gratifies the mind with a great and pleasing image, and not at all the less enriches it with a most useful instruction.

That the florid, poetic, or heroic stile has also its beauties, is so far from being doubted, that some have confined sublimity to this only; and when it is sustained by a great thought, and best conveys that, and so serves both purposes, use, and delight, it is then preferable, never else: Apply it to nonsense, it is nauseous; to a low trivial thought, it is so far from raising it, that it makes it ridiculous; or he that reads is so, if he is cheated by it, and fancies the thing hath more sense in it than it really has; or than it would have appeared to have had, if it had not been tricked up with those improper ornaments. Nay, when it is used to convey a great idea, and more is done than is necessary to that end, it is a defect, not a beauty: For even in this stile too great a latitude must not be given to the fancy; and though the amplifications spread themselves all around, each of them in particular should be formed as concisely as the nature of them will admit of.

In Milton's description of the devil, and his host of fallen angels, there is a profusion of ornament, particularly in similes, but in each of them there is a great œconomy shewn in the language, not a word but is to the purpose:

—— He

——— He above the rest
 In shape, and gesture proudly eminent
 Stood like a tower; his form had yet not lost
 All her original brightness, nor appear'd
 Less than archangel ruin'd, and th' excess
 Of glory obscur'd: As when the sun new ris'n
 Looks thro' the horizontal misty air
 Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
 In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes monarchs. Dark'n'd so, yet shone
 Above them all th' archangel: But his face
 Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
 Sate on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and confederate pride
 Waiting revenge; cruel his eye, but cast
 Signs of remorse, and passion to behold
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd
 For ever now to have their lot in pain,
 Millions of spirits for his fault amerc'd
 Of heaven, and from eternal splendors flung
 For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood
 Their glory wither'd. As when heaven's fire
 Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
 With singed top their stately growth, tho' bare,
 Stands on the blasted heath. ———

MILTON's Par. Lost, B. I. l. 589.

More than this had been too much. There is
 no such danger in what follows; it is the description
 of the second person in the trinity, coming with his
 celestial attendants

——— to create new worlds.

On heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore
 They view'd the vast, immeasurable abyfs
 Outrageous as a sea, dark, wastful, wild,
 Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds,
 And surging waves as mountains to assault
 Heav'n's height, and with the center mix the pole:

K 3

Silence

Silence ye troubled waves, and thou deep, peace,
 Said then th' omnific word, your discord end.
 Nor staid, but on the wings of cherubim
 Uplifted, in paternal glory rode
 Far into chaos, and the world unborn;
 For chaos heard his voice.

MILTON'S *Par. Lost*, B. VII. l. 209.

I have not given these specimens of all the several styles as proofs, that each or any of them are the language of the sublime, for that would be begging the question, it not being proved that those passages are such; on the contrary, if any style is a bar to sublimity where this is found, the passage cannot be sublime; but I have produced these to shew, that any of the several styles may be best on some occasions; and if that appear, sure it will not be said that a worse is the only sublime, and that, merely for the sake of the words, considered as distinct from the sense and true use of them; for thus the perfect sublime must be the noblest thoughts, but not the best way of expressing those thoughts. If the best be the sublime, the sublimity of those several styles is then established. And this will prove, that those passages are also sublime, if there was no other objection to their sublimity but the style, though it was not what I chiefly intended.

The only reasons that can be given for a peculiarity of style in the sublime are, that as the thought must be great, the language must be so too, as best expressing such thought; and because the music of the words serves to the same purpose, and moreover pleaseth, I own all this is generally true: Why do we use the term sublime, and not the very best, both which express the same thing, only that one raises, and the other depresses the idea? But I deny

deny that it is always thus; and only contend, that a plain stile may, sometimes, be the most excellent, though low and trivial thoughts never can be distinguished; and when such a stile best serves the main end of language when the image is best conveyed, though not delicately as with a seal, but roughly as with the thump of a mallet, it is then, and only then (according to me) the sublime stile, because it is the best on that occasion; and what none but a great genius dare venture on, or shall venture on with success. And when this happens, the pleasure that is wanting in the sound is abundantly recompensed by observing the judgment of him who made so wise a choice.

There is a beauty in brevity and simplicity which sufficiently compensates for what it wants; the mind is fixed, as it were, to a point, and to the sense; whereas it is apt to be dissipated by the allurements of a florid stile; and called off to the lesser beauties that enter no deeper than the ear.

Longinus has furnished us with a proof of the advantage that simplicity has above ornament in his account of the famous text of Moses: Whether he never saw a true copy, or that he has endeavoured to improve upon it, he puts it thus: "And God said, What? Let there be light, and there was light." This particle, what, seems to have been a flower stuck in by some rhetorician, and that to awaken the attention; and so it might have been applied very justly, when one of an inferior character had spoke; but when it is said God spake, it is enough; and, to suppose any thing else necessary, is to depress the idea of the speaker.

Having thus explained, and as well as I could justified my definition, it appears that my notion

of the sublime differs from that of * some others: I confine it to sense, and give a latitude as to the stile; they are for a certain stile, and allow that a separate sublimity, whatever the thought be: We also differ in the way of supporting our several notions; I have built only on reason, or what appeared to me to be such.

I confess, after all, it cannot be said with certainty, what is, and what is not sublime, because it cannot be said in all cases what thought is of that supreme excellence, and that such, or such a way of expressing it is best; this must be judged of by every one for himself, as on many other more important occasions: But what I have done may perhaps help to clear these points, at least it hath shewn what I mean by the term, and so prepared my way to what I chiefly intended, which was, to speak of the sublime in painting. The term indeed is not so generally applied to that art, but would have been, had it been so generally understood, and so much treated on as writing: For certainly the supreme excellence in painting is as worthy of that distinction; and more so, as employing more of the noblest faculties peculiar to the noblest creature we are acquainted with.

And here I take the sublime to be the greatest and most beautiful ideas conveyed to us the most advantageously.

By beauty I do not mean that of form or colour, copied from what the painter sees; these be-

* See Longinus, chap. 32, &c. Boileau's Definition of the Sublime in his twelfth critical reflection on Longinus. Dissertation of Mr. Huet and Le Clerc against Boileau, &c. Tho', to say the truth, the two first of these, in the places here cited, speak contrary to what is the general tenor of their several discourses.

ing never so well imitated, I take not to be sublime, because these require little more than an eye and hand, and practice. An exalted idea of colour in a human face or figure, might be judged to be sublime, could that be had and conveyed to us, as I think it cannot, since even nature has not yet been equalled by the best colourists; here she keeps art at a distance whatever courtship it hath made to her. In forms it is otherwise, as we find in the best antique statues, which therefore I allow to have a sublimity in them: And should do the same in regard to the same kind and degree of beauty, if it were to be found in any picture, as I believe it is not. Though in pictures is seen a grace and greatness, whether from the attitude, or air of the whole, or the head only, that may justly be esteemed sublime.

It is to these properties therefore, as also to the invention, expression and composition, that I confine the sublime in painting; and this as they are found in histories and portraits.

If the story, sublime in itself, loses nothing of its own dignity under the painter's hand, or if it is raised and improved, which it cannot be, if the airs of the heads, and attitudes of the figures are not conformable to the greatness of the subject: If expedients and incidents are introduced, that discover an elevation of thought in the master, and all is artfully conveyed to us, whether in a sketch or drawing, or in a finished picture; this I esteem sublimity in painting. Nor less so, if a noble character is given or improved; a character of wisdom, goodness, magnanimity, or whatever other virtues or excellencies; and that together with a just and proper resemblance. But a low subject,
and

and a mean character, are incapable of sublimity; as is the best composition when employed on such.

When one speaks of the sublime in writing, the instance proper to illustrate and explain what is said concerning it may be set before your eyes, and that without any diminution of its original lustre. Painting has not this advantage; much of the beauty will be lost in the description how artful soever; as who can describe the air of the head, whether as to its general character of grace or dignity, or those particular ones of wisdom, goodness, loveliness, or what are the effects of any passion, or emotion of soul! Who can by words shew what Raphael, Guido, or Vandyke have done with their pencils! I should for this reason have been sparing of examples, if I had not already given many for other purposes, but which are also instances of the sublime in painting, and which are scattered up and down throughout all I have written on this amiable subject: But one or two I will add in this place. The first shall be from Rembrandt; and surely he has given us such an idea of a death-bed on one quarter of a sheet of paper, in two figures, with few accompaniments, and in clair-obscur only, that the most eloquent preacher cannot paint it so strongly by the most elaborate discourse; I do not pretend to describe it, it must be seen: I will however tell what the figures and the rest are. An old man is lying on his bed just ready to expire; this bed has a plain curtain, and a lamp hanging over it, for it is in a little sort of an alcove, dark otherwise, though it is bright day in the next room, and which is nearest the eye, there the son of this dying old man is at prayers. O God! What is this world! We spend our years as a tale that is told. All is over
with

with this man, and there is such an expression in this dull lamp-light at noon-day, such a touching solemnity and repose, that these equal any thing in the airs and attitudes of the figures, which have the utmost excellency that I think I ever saw, or can conceive is possible to be imagined.

It is a drawing, I have it. And here is an instance of an important subject, impressed upon our minds by such expedients and incidents, as display an elevation of thought and fine invention; and all this with the utmost art, and with the greatest simplicity; that being more apt, at least in this case, than any embellishment whatsoever.

The other instance I promised shall be from Federico Zuccaro: He hath represented the annunciation so as to give such an idea as we ought to have of that amazing event: Over the Virgin and the Angel, aloft, in a heaven of glory, appears God the father and the dove, all surrounded by an innumerable multitude of angels, adoring, rejoicing, &c. On each side sit the prophets with cartells, on which are written their predictions of the miraculous incarnation of the Son of God.

I am perhaps prejudiced in favour of painting; but however, not so much but that I am ready to acknowledge, that we have few instances, if any, of the perfect sublime; that is, where the thought is so, and the manner of conveyance equal to it; some defects will always be found in the best pictures, whereas there are sublime passages in writers where the words are not only the most apt and proper, but the most beautiful: This, nevertheless is to the honour of our art. No man yet hath arrived at excellency in all the parts of it: This were the task of an angel, or some angelick man, such as hath not yet appeared. Raphael
and

and others have reached the sublime, and rose as high as Homer or Demosthenes; but you can rarely see an entire picture, or even a single figure, wherein an accurate though candid critic might not wish something otherwise; whereas in writers you often have their beautiful parts detached and perfect.

But the sublime, as the crown in the state hides all defects, it fills and satisfies the mind; nothing appears to be wanting, nothing to be amiss, or if it does, it is easily forgiven. All faults die and vanish in presence of the sublime, which when it appears is as "the sun traversing the vast desert of "of the sky." PINDAR.

Longinus rightly accounts for the defects that are seen in men who have attained to sublimity; their minds, says he, intent upon what is great, cannot attend to little things; and indeed the life and capacity of a man are insufficient for both, and even for all that is great in painting. But who, says Longinus, would not rather be Demosthenes than Hyperides, though one of these had no faults, and the other many? This other had the sublime! He was admirable, not merely irreproachable. When we see the sublime, it elevates the soul, gives her a higher opinion of herself, and fills her with joy, and a noble kind of pride, as if herself had produced what she is admiring. It ravishes, it transports, and creates in us a certain admiration, mixed with astonishment. And, like a tempest, drives all before it.

————— And must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As us'd, or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire : —————
————— But here

Far

Far otherwise transported I behold.

————— Here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmov'd.

MILTON's Par. Lost, B. VIII. l. 523.

In the foregoing treatise I have been shewing what I take to be the rules of painting; and tho' any one had understood and practised them all, I must yet say one thing is wanting, "Go, and endeavour to attain the sublime." For a painter should not please only, but should delight, should transport, should surprize.

Plus ultra * was the motto of Charles V. whose actions were of the sublime kind; and, as Monsieur St. Evremont finely distinguishes, rather vast than great: And this should be the motto of all who apply themselves to any noble art, particularly that of a painter; he must not propose like Pyrrhus to conquer such a country, then such a one, then another, and then rest; he must resolve, like time, to be always going on,

————— Like the Pontick sea
Whose icy current, and compulsive course
Ne'er knows retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontick, and the Hellespont.

SHAKESPEARE.

In short, he must be perpetually advancing. And whatever rules are given as fundamental of the art, plus ultra, like a golden thread, should be woven in, and run throughout the whole piece.

To be contented with mediocrity in art, is an argument of a meanness of spirit incapable even of that; and though it be attained, it is a state of

* "Ne plus ultra," said Hercules.

insipidity,

insipidity, a kind of non-entity: To be remarkable for nothing, is not to be at all; and less eligible than to be remarkably a blockhead.

For who would lose
 Though full of pain this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
 To perish rather, swallow'd up, and lost
 In the wide womb of uncreated night.

MILTON's Par. Lost, B. II. l. 146.

He that upon trial finds himself incapable of the science he had applied himself to, may turn to something else, until he lights upon that in which he may excel, as there is none but may do so in one thing or another; but he who does just tolerably well, stops there, and never gets higher in any thing, is a species of animals that makes the transition from men to brutes easy.

When we propose only an exact imitation of nature, we shall certainly fall short of it; so when we aim no higher than what we find in any one, or more masters, we shall never reach their excellence: He who would rise to the sublime must form an idea of something beyond all we have yet seen, or which art or nature has yet produced; painting, such as when all the excellences of the several masters are united, and their several defects avoided.

The greatest designers among the moderns want much of that exquisite beauty, in all the several characters, that is to be seen in the antique; the airs of the heads, even of Raphael himself, are inferior to what the ancients have done (their subjects being equal); and for grace, to some of Guido: The colouring of Rubens and Vandyke falls short of that of Titian and Corregio; and the best masters have rarely thought like Raphael, or composed like

like Rembrandt. Let us then imagine a picture designed as the Laocoon, the Hercules, the Apollo, the Venus, or any of these miraculous remains of antiquity : The airs of heads, like what is to be found in the statues, busts, bas-reliefs, or medals, or like some of those of Guido ; and coloured like the most celebrated colourists, with the lightest pencil, and the most proper to the subject ; and all this suitably invented and composed ; here would be a picture ! Such a one a painter should imagine, and so set before him for imitation.

Nor must he stop here, but create an original idea of perfection. The utmost that the best masters have done, is not to be supposed the utmost it is possible for human nature to arrive at ; Leonardo da Vinci, or Michael Angelo, might have been thought to have carried the art as far as it could go, had not Raphael appeared ; as Cimabue and Giotto were thought to have done in their days :

Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, & or ha Giotto il grido
Si che la fama di colui oscura.

DANTE, Purgatorio XI.

Who knows what is hid in the womb of time ! Another may eclipse Raphael ; a new Columbus may cross the Atlantic Ocean, and leave the pillars of that Hercules far behind. The out-lines and airs of the best antique, with the best colouring of the moderns united, would do this ; but more yet than this is not impossible ; and this more should be attempted :

As God no model for the worlds could find,
But form'd them in his own eternal mind ;
So should the artist, warm'd with heav'nly fire,
To a perfection yet unknown aspire.

This

This is the great rule for the sublime; not to be given however until those fundamental ones of the art have been well known and practised: This is to be opened when a man hath got far on his way, as the commissions of admirals or generals going on some great expedition frequently are. The sublime disdains to be trammelled, it knows no bounds, it is the folly of great geniuses, and the perfection of human nature; but like Milton's paradise

Wild, above rule, or art, enormous bliss!

MILTON's Par. Lost, B. V. l. 297.

Return me to my native element

Left from this flying steed, unrein'd (as once

Bellerophon tho' from a lower clime)

Dismounted, on the Aleian field I fall,

Erroneous there to wander, and forlorn.

Ibid. B. VII. l. 16.

I have now done as much as may reasonably be judged to come to my share, to shew my hearty love to my profession, having thus sacrificed a great many of those hours which would otherwise have been given (as they ought) to rest and diversion; much more might be added, for the subject is a noble and a copious one; but I must take leave to recommend what is farther to be done to some other hand, without the common flourish of excusing myself upon account of inability; though I am also very sensible of that. But the true reason of my declining it is that just now given.

As for the present work, no body can be more ready to say, than I am to acknowledge, that it is not so well as it should be: But as in drawings, those are good which answer their end; if no more than the composition (for example) is pretended to, it were impertinent to say they are incorrect; here
the

the reader should distinguish between the writer and the painter: My business is painting: If I have succeeded tolerably well in that character, the public has no reason to complain. Such as it is, and such as my abilities, and the proportion of time and application I have thought it reasonable for me to bestow, has enabled me to make it, I now offer it to the world; though I was not resolved so to do when I began to write. I remember to have heard a story which (like others told on such occasions) is not to be too strictly applied; however the reader may do as he thinks fit. A man of quality, Sir Peter Lely's intimate friend, was pleased to say to him one day, "For God's sake, Sir Peter, how came you to have so great a reputation? You know that I know you are no painter."—"My lord, I know I am not; but I am the best you have."

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST, &c.

THE following historical and chronological list (as to the main of it) I took the pains to make some years ago for my own use. I have been pretty careful in it, so that I believe there are not many mistakes. Where I could find no account of the time of a master's birth, his place in the list will shew whereabouts it probably was. The double dates are the different accounts of authors, the most considerable is that of Corregio; I have been determined to put him so low upon the authority of a manuscript of father Resta, a late connoisseur at Rome, and who besides his infinite diligence in these matters, and a particular regard, and even fondness, for Corregio, hath had very great opportunities of being rightly informed, considering the distance of time. The account of the degrees in which some of the most eminent of these masters excelled, is scattered up and down in the preceding discourse; but of this you may see farther at the end of a small book of Mr. de Piles, printed anno 1708. *Cours de Peinture par Principes*. He has made a scale, the highest number of which is 18, and denotes the highest degree

INTRODUCTION, &c. 147

to which any one hath arrived that we know of; then he supposes the art to consist of Composition, Design, Colouring, and Expression, of each of which he makes a separate column, and in these puts his number according as he judges the master whose name he applies them to has merited. The thing is curious and useful; but some considerable parts of painting being omitted, it gives not a just idea of the masters. For example; according to this scale Rembrandt seems to be equal to Giulio Romano, and superior to Michael Angelo and Parmegiano. Whereas had he brought Invention, Greatness, Grace, &c. into the account, it would have set the matter right, supposing he had allotted the just degrees, which neither he, nor any one else can do so as to please universally.

HISTORICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES of the PRINCIPAL PROFESSORS of PAINTING.

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Giovanni Cimabue, } the Father of Mo- } dern painting.	Certain Greek painters, } brought to Florence.	1240	Hiftory.	Florence.	1300
Giotto.	Cimabue.	1276	Hift. fculp. archit.	Florence.	1336
John van Eyck, or John } of Bruges, inventor of } painting in oil. Ann. } 1410.	His brother Hubert.	1370	Hiftory.		1441
Mafaccio.	Mafolino.	1417	Hiftory.	Florence.	1443
Giovanni Bellini.	His father Jacopo.	1422	Hift. port. archit.	Venice.	1512
Gentile Bellini.	His father.	1421	Hift. port. archit.	{ Venice, went to } { Constantinople. }	1501
Luca Signorella da Cor- } tona.	Pietro del Borgo.	1439	Hiftory.	Several parts of Italy.	1512
Leonardo da Vinci. }	Andrea Verocchio.	1445	{ Hift. port. fcul. } { architect. }	Florence.	1520
					Pietro

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in.	Lived at	Died
Pietro Perugino.	Andrea Verocchio.	1446	History.	Florence, Siena.	1524
Andrea Mantegna. } Grav- } ing invented in his } time, and by him first } practised.	Jacopo Squarcione.	1451	History, portraits.	Mantua, Rome.	1517
Fra. Bartolomeo di S. } Marco.	Raphael for perspective.	1469	History.	Florence.	1517
Timoteo Vete da Urbino.	Imitated Raphael.	1470	History.	Urbino, Rome.	1524
Albert Durer.		1470	Hist. port. gravng.	Nuremberg.	1528
Michael Angelo Buonaroti.	Domenico Grilandaio.	1474	Hist. sculp. archit.	Florence, Rome.	1564
Giorgione da Castelfranco.	{ Gio. Bellino, imitated } { Leonardo da Vinci. }	1477	History, portraits.	Venice.	1511
Titiano Vicelli da Cadore.	{ Gio. Bellini, imitated } { Giorgione. }	1488	Hist. port. landsc.	Venice.	1576
Andrea del Sarto.	Pietro di Cosimo.	1478	History.	Florence.	1530
Pellegrino da Modena.	Raphael.	1481	History, architect.	Rome, Modena.	1536
Baldassar Peruzzi da } Siena.				Rome.	

Raphael

MASTERS.

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Raphael Sancio da Urbino.	{ Giovanni his father, Pietro Perugino; for colouring Fra. Bartolomeo; imitated Leonardo da Vinci, and after (as is probably asserted by some) improved by seeing the works of Michael Angelo.	1483	Hist. port. archit.	Florence, Rome.	1520
Mecherino da Siena, called also Domenico Beccafumi.	{ First imitated P. Perugino, then studied Michael Angelo and Raphael.	1484	History, sculpture.	Rome, Siena.	1549
Sebastiano del Piombo.	Gio. Bellini, Giorgione.	1485	History, portraiture.	Venice, Rome.	1547
Baccio Bandinelli.	Gio. Fran. Rustici.	1487	History, sculpture.	Florence.	1559
Gio. Antonio Regillo, called Licinio da Perdenone.	Studied Giorgione.	1484	History.	Venice, Friuli.	1540
Biaggio Puppini Bolognese			Hist.		

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MASTERS.

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Francesco Primaticcio Bo-					

DISCIPLE OF

DISCIPL
Giulio Romano.

Raphael.
Raphael.

Raphael.
Raphael.

Frari da Modena, Mantegna.

{ Leo. da Vinci, Mariotto
Albertainelli, P. Cof-
mo. Andr. del Sarto. }

⁴ Polidoro da Caravagio.

Studied Michael Angelo.
Raphael.

149 ²	History.
1496	History.

Jean Lucas, and Schoorel.
studied Michael Angelo.

His father.

{ Studied after Michael
Angelo, then under
Raphael.

1501	Hifstory, archit.
1500	Sculptor.

{ Benvenuto Gorofalo, }
{ studied Corregio. }

Ugo

MASTERS.

Ugo da Carpi, he first in-
vented Printing with
two plates of wood,
then with three, in imi-
tation of drawings.
Franc. Mazzuoli Parme-
giano.
Giacomo Palma il Vecchio.
Daniele Ricciarelli da Vol-
terra.
Francesco Salviati, Fran-
cesco de Rossì.
Jacopo Ponte da Bassano
il Vecchio.
Don Giulio Clouio.
Pirro Ligorio.
Giorgio Vasario.

DISCIPLE OF	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
His two uncles.	1504	History, portrait.	Rome, Parma.	1540
{ Studied at Rome, and after instructed by Titian.	1508	History, portrait.	Rome, Venice.	1556
{ Il Sodomità, Bald. Pe- ruzzì.	1509	History, sculpture.	Rome, Florence.	1566
{ His father, Baccio Ban- dinelli, Andr. del Sarto.	1510	History, portrait.	{ Floren. Rome, Venice.	1563
Studied after Gio. Bellino.	1511	{ Hist. animals, landscapes.	Bassano, Venice.	1592
Giulio Romano.	1511	Hist. in miniature.	Rome.	1578
Giulio Romano.	1511	History, architect.	Napl. Rome, about	1573
{ Guglielmo da Marfi- glia, Andr. del Sarto, Michael Angelo.	1511	History, portraits.	{ Pisga, Bologna, Florence, Ven. { Naples, Rome.	1574
			Paris	

MASTERS.

(Born

DISCIPLE OF

Excelled in

Lived at

Died

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Paris Bordon.	Titian, imitated Giorgione.	15 ¹² ₃	History, portraits.	Venice, France.	
Giacomo Robusti Tintoretto	{ Titian, studied Michael Angelo for design. }	1511	History, portraits.	Venice.	1594
Giov. Porta, after Giuseppe Salviati.	Francesco Salviati.	15 ¹⁶ ₃₃	History.	Venice.	1585
Sir Ant. More of Utrecht.	Schoorel.	1519	History, portraits.	{ Italy, Spain, Flanders, Engl. }	1575
Francis Floris.	{ Lambert Lombard, studied Michael Angelo. }	1520	History.	Antwerp.	1570
Paolo Farinato.	Ant. Badille, Nicolo Goltino.	15 ²² ₃₀	Hist. sculpt. archit.	Verona, Mantua.	1606
Pellegrino Tebaldi.	Dan. da Volterra.	1522	History, architect.	{ Bologn. Rome, Milan, Mod. }	1592
Andrea Schiauone.	Imitated Parmegiano.	1522	History.	Venice.	1582
Luca Cangiassi, or Cambiaso.	His father.	1527	History.	Genoa, Spain.	1583
Federico Barocci.	{ Battista Venetiano, stud. Raphael and Corregio. }	1528	{ Histo. religious subjects chiefly. }	Urbino, Rome.	1612
Girolamo Mutiano da Brescia.	{ Romanino, studied Mic. Angelo, Titian. }	1528	Hist. port. landscap.	Rome.	1590
Taddeo Zuccaro.	{ Ottaviano his father, Pompeo da Fano. }	1529	History.	Rome.	1566
Bartolomeo Passerotto.	{ Jacopo Vignuola, Tad. Zuccaro. }		History, portraits.	Rome.	

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Paolo Calliari Veronese.	His father, Ant. Badille.	1533	History, portraits.	Venice.	1588
Federico Zuccaro.	Taddeo Zuccaro.	1540	History, portraits.	{ Rome, France, } Spain, England.	1609
Martin de Vos.	Studied in Italy.	1540	History.	Antwerp.	1604
Giacomo Palma Giouane.	{ His father Ant. Nephew } of old Palma, studied Titian and Tintoret.	1544	History.	Venice.	1628
Paul Brill.		1550	Landscapes.	Antwerp, Rome.	1622
Raffaelino da Reggio di Modena.	Federico Zuccaro.	1552	History.	Rome.	1580
Lodouico Carracci.	Prof. Fon. Cami. Procaccino.	1555	History.	Bologna, Rome.	1619
Antonio Tempesta.	John Strada, a Fleming.	1555	Battles, huntings.	Rome.	1630
Agostino Carracci.	{ Prosp. Font. Lodouico. } and Annib. Carracci.	1557	History, gravings.	{ Bologn. Rome, } Parma.	1602
Lodouico Cigoli, or Ciuoli.	{ Studied And. del Sarto, } and Correggio.	1559	History.	Florence, Rome.	1613
Annibale Carracci.	{ Lod. Carracci, studied } Correggio, Titian, Ra- phael, and the antique.	1560	History.	Bologna, Rome.	1609
Giuseppe Cesafese d'Arpino, Cau. Gioseppino.	{ Raff. da Reggio, Lelio } Nouellara, according } to father Resta.	1560	History.	Rome, Naples.	1640

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
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MASTERS.

Jean Rothamar, called Rottenhamer. }	His father, Tintoret.	1564	History.	Venice, Bavaria.	1604
Cau. Francesco Vanni. }	His father, imitated Barocci.	1568	Hist. relig. subjects.	Siena.	1615
Michael Angelo Amerigi Caravaggio. }	Cau. Gioseppino.	1569	History, half fig.	Rome, Naples, Malta	1609
Jan Brueghel, called Fluwelen, or Velvet Brueg. }	{ Peter Goe-kindt, studied in Italy. }	1569	{ Wakes, fairs, } { landscap. little. }		1625
Ventura Salinbene. }	His father Arcangelo.		History.	Rome, &c.	
Adam Elsheimer. }	{ Philip Uffenbach, studied in Rome. }	1574	{ Hist. land. and } { night-pieces. }	Rome.	about 1610
Guido Reni. }	Dion. Calv. the Carracches.	1575	History.	Bologna, Rome.	1642
Sir Peter Paul Rubens. }	{ Adam van Noort, Otho Venius, stud. in Italy. }	1577	History, portraits.	Antwerp.	1640
Alef. Tiarini. }	Prof. Tontana.	1577	History.	Bologna.	
Francesco Albani. }	DeCalv. Guido, the Carrach.	1578	History.	Bologna, Rome.	1660
Giof. Ribera Spagnoletto. }	Mich. Angelo Caravaggio.		History.	Naples.	
Dominico Zampieri, called Dominichino. }	D. Calvart, the Carracches.	1581	History.	{ Bologn. Rome, } { Naples. }	1641
Cau. Giov. Lanfranco. }	{ Agost. An. Carracci studied Raff. and Correg. }	1581	History.	{ Rome, Parma, } { Naples. }	1647
Simon Vouet. }	His father.	1582	History, portraits.	Rome, Paris.	1641
Ant. Carracci, call'd il Gobbo.	Annibale.	1583	History.	Rome.	1618

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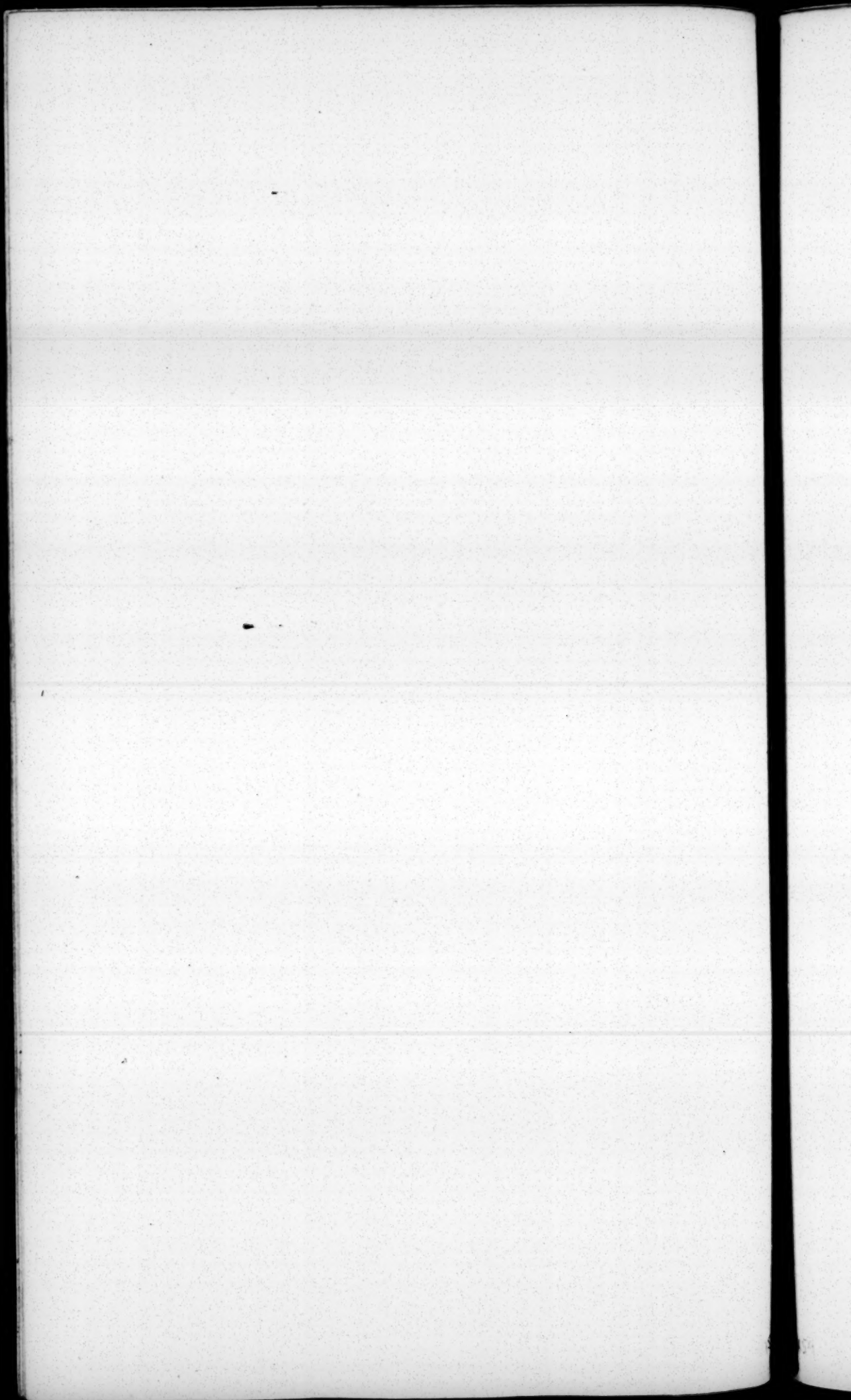
MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Giov. Franc. Barbieri, detto il Guercino da Cento.	Benedetto Gennari.	1590	History.	Rome, Bologna.	1666
Nicolas Poussin.	Had obscure Masters.	1594	History, small fig.	Rome.	1665
Pietro Berettini da Cortona.	{ A Florentine painter at Rome.	1596	History.	Rome, Florence.	1669
Gio. Lorenzo Bernini.	Tomaso Salini.	1598	Flowers.	Rome.	1680
Mario Nuzzi di Fiori.	Rubens.	1599	History, portraits.	Antw. Italy, Lond.	1672
Sir Anthony Vandyke.	{ His brother-in-law Nicolas Poussin.	1600	Landscapes.	Rome.	1663
Gaspero Dughet, which he changed for Poussin.	{ Ant. Saluatti Bolognese.	1600	Battles, fruit.	Rome.	1660
Mich. Angelo Cerquozzi delle Battaglie.	{ Batt. Paggi, instructed by Vandyke, and studied Poussin.		{ History, landsc. } animals.	Rambled in Italy.	
Benedetto Castiglione Genoese.	Agostino Tasso.	1600	Landscapes.	Rome.	1682
Claude Gille de Lorrain.	Albani.	1601	History.	Rome.	1661
Andrea Ouche, alias Sacchi.	Lesman of Amsterdam.	1606	History, portraits.	Holland.	1668
Rembrandt van Rheyen.	Frans Hals.	1608	Boors, and drolls.	Antwerp.	1638
Adrien Brouwer.			Battles.		
Giacomo Cortesi Jesuita, detto il Borgognone.					

* Bellori, vit. but according to his epitaph, 1559—1661. Æt. 62.

M A S T E R S.		D I S C I P L E of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Mr. Samuel Cooper.		Mr. Hofkins, stud. Vandyke.	1609	Port. in miniature.	London.	1672
Mr. William Dobson.			1610	Port.	London, Oxford.	1647
Mich. Angelo Pace, called } di Campidoglio.		Fioravanti.	1610	{ Fruit, and still } life.	Rome.	1670
Abr. Diepenbec.		Rubens.		History.		
Pietro Testa.			1611	History.	Rome.	1648
Salvator Rosa.		Daniele Falcone.	1614	History, landscape.	Rome.	1673
Filippo Laura.			1616	History, small.		
Carlo Dolce.			1616	History.		1694
Eustache le Sueur.		Voüet.	1617	History.	Paris.	1655
Sir Peter Lely.		De Grebber of Haerlem.	1617	Portraiture.	London.	1680
Sebastien Bourdon.		Studied in Rome.	1619	History, landscape.	Rome, Sweden, Pari.	1673
Charles Le Brun.		His father, Voüet.	1620	History.	Paris.	1690
Carlo Maratti.		Andr. Sacchi.	1623	History, portraiture.	Rome.	1713
Luca Giordano, called }		P. da Cortona.	1626	History.	{ Rome, Florenc. }	1694
Luca fà Presto.		Albano.		History.	{ Naples, Madrid }	
Carlo Cignani.		P. da Cartona.	1628	History.	Bologna, Ferrol.	
Ciro Ferri.		Zouft, Fuller.		History.		
Mr. John Riley.		Carlo Maratti.	1646	Portraiture.	London.	1691
Giuseppe Passari.			1654	History.	Rome.	1714

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A N



AN
ESSAY
ON THE WHOLE
ART OF CRITICISM,
AS IT RELATES TO
PAINTING.

SHEWING HOW TO JUDGE,

I. Of the Goodness of a Picture.

II. Of the Hand of the Master.

AND

III. Whether it is an Original, or a Copy.

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A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
A R T O F C R I T I C I S M, &c.

IT is true, the rules and principles of an art are the materials whereby to form a judgment of the goodness of any production of that art. The Theory of Painting therefore, which I have already treated of, furnishes such for the judging of the goodness of a picture. But it is another art to know how to make proper use of those; and this is what I have now undertaken to write upon in the first place.

And as I have been often asked how we know the hands of the several masters, and distinguish copies from originals, and am persuaded a satisfactory answer to these questions will be very acceptable to most gentlemen, as well as to those particular enquirers; I have determined to take this way of answering them all at once, and that more fully and accurately than could possibly have been done off-hand, and in the time I could have bestowed in making particular answers,

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I might have excused myself upon account of that business in the way of my profession, in which I am constantly engaged; and it is a plea which I believe every one who knows me will be ready to make for me; but there are some hours, especially in the winter-season, not fit for painting; nor can a man always have his pencil in his hand in the long days of summer. These portions of time, well husbanded by temperance and prudence, amount to what is very considerable in the course of one's life; and sufficient to dispatch more than will be easily imagined by those who have never tried, as being of an inactive temper and loving procrastination; or who lavish away their time in impertinent or criminal amusements.

And as I could not honestly make any of this sort, I will not trouble any of my readers with excuses for my inability of the other kind: I assure them I am not insensible of it myself, but care not how little they observe it. Such as they are I have given them my thoughts as well as I could; and shall be glad if others are the better for my studies in this way. And these have not been wanting; for, as from my infancy I have never had a taste for the most part of what is generally called pleasure and diversion, whether from constitution, or upon a philosophical, prudential or religious consideration, but on the contrary always loved retirement and business, and, above all other studies and employments, that of painting; and being competently, not to say abundantly, furnished with materials for my purpose (would to God however I had seen, or could yet see Italy!) I say, thus qualified, I have for some years past applied myself, with all my powers of body and mind, to this one pursuit, of adorning the province that
had

had fallen to my lot; and have done it with impartiality and freedom.

I am well aware, that after all, I may peradventure be sometimes mistaken; let those who think I am so in any instance consider the matter as I have done, before they pronounce too positively, for neither are they infallible: Readers are too apt, at first sight, to condemn as error, what an author may have found, after a laborious and tedious enquiry, to be truth. But however others may judge, or whether I am in the right, or mistaken, I stand equally acquitted in my own mind, having taken the right way to arrive at truth. I have not taken any thing upon trust; but have gone on and established myself upon what appeared to me warranted by reason.

I ask the reader's pardon for detaining him so long with what chiefly concerns myself; I will only take leave to plead one piece of merit, which I pretend to have with the public, and that is, that I have made a new acquisition for the commonwealth of letters; I believe this is the only book extant upon the subject. Apelles wrote many volumes upon painting, perhaps among them something might be said on the knowledge of hands, and how to distinguish copies from originals; but these have long ago had the fate of all things not immortal. Father Orlandi, in his *Abcedario Pittorico*, has given us a catalogue of about one hundred and fifty books relating to painting in several languages, but none that I can find treats of this science. M. de Piles (to whom we are obliged for some curious and useful hints he has furnished us with in his several works) is the only one I know of who hath so much as entered upon this matter; it is but ten or twelve pages in his *Abregé de la*

vie des Peintres. If I had received any advantage from what he has done on this head, considerable enough to require it, I should not have failed to have acknowledged it on this occasion; and yet I believe I have profited by it as much as any man has, or can possibly. Not but that M. de Piles seems well qualified upon several accounts to have given us great light in this matter, if he had thought fit, but he has not done it, he has only struck out a slight sketch of some common and obvious thoughts, and very little more. Whether the subject is worthy of a more elaborate essay the reader will judge for himself; it is evident I thought it was, and I flatter myself it will appear to have been not without reason; and as the politer part of mankind in general, delight in this engaging study, or value themselves upon what skill they can attain to in judging of the hands and originality of these fine works, one must suppose that all these think as I do in this particular.

O F T H E

GOODNESS OF A PICTURE, &c.

“**W**HEREFORE callest thou me good, “ there is none good but one, that is “ God?” said the Son of God to the young man who prefaced a noble question with that compliment. This is that goodness that is perfect, simple, and properly so called; it is what is peculiar to the Deity, and so, to be found no where else. But there is another improper, imperfect, comparative goodness, and no other than this is to be had in the works of men, and this admits of various degrees. A picture, drawing, or print therefore may be good though it has several faults.

In one of the Tatlers there is fine reasoning to this purpose; “ The heathen world had so little “ notion that perfection was to be expected amongst men, that with them, any one quality or “ endowment in an heroick degree made a god. “ Hercules had strength, but it was never objected to him that he wanted wit. Apollo presided over wit, and it was never asked whether “ he had strength. We hear no exceptions against “ the beauty of Minerva, or the wisdom of Venus. These wise heathens were glad to immortalize any one serviceable gift, and overlook all imperfections in the person that had it.”

If in a picture the story be well chosen, and finely told (at least) if not improved, if it fill the mind with noble and instructive ideas, I will not scruple to say it is an excellent picture, though the drawing be as much short of precise correctness

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rectness as that of Corregio, Titian, or Rubens; the colouring as disagreeable even as that of Polidore, Battista Franco, or Michael Angelo. Nay, though there is no other good but that of the colouring, and the pencil, I will venture to call it a good picture; that is, that it is good in those respects. In the first instance here is a fine story artfully communicated to my imagination, not by speech, nor writing, but in a manner preferable to either of them; in the other there is a beautiful and delightful object, and a fine piece of workmanship, to say no more of it.

There never was a picture in the world without some faults, and very rarely is there one to be found which is not notoriously defective in some of the parts of painting. In judging of it's goodness, one should pronounce it such in proportion to the number of the good qualities it has, and their degrees of goodness. I will add, and, as a philosopher, one should only consider the excellency we see, and enjoy that, as being, all belonging to it. No more regretting what it has not, or thinking of it so as to diminish our pleasure in that it has, than we do the want of taste in a rose, speech in a picture of Vandyke, or life in one of Raphael.

There are two ways whereby a gentleman may come to be persuaded of the goodness of a picture or drawing; he may neither have leisure nor inclination to become a connoisseur himself, and yet may delight in these fine productions, and desire to possess them; he hath no way then but to take up his opinions upon trust, and implicitly depend upon another's judgment. Here his own is determined, upon arguments in favour of the honesty and understanding of the man he relies on;

on; not at all relating to the intrinsic worth of the work in question; and this may be the wisest and best course he can take, all things considered: though it is certain, when a man judgeth for himself he may arrive at a higher degree of persuasion that the picture or drawing is good; because one man may be as good a judge as another, if he applies himself to it; so that here the gentleman, and his guide are upon an equality; either indeed may be mistaken, but he that relies upon the judgment of another, hath a double chance against him of being deceived, for he may be mistaken in his opinion of the honesty, or understanding of this other.

This way of judging upon the authority of another I meddle not with: The first thing then to be done in order to become a good connoisseur one's self, is to avoid prejudices, and false reasoning.

Error abounds every where; we are surrounded with mistake; from our infancy we imbibed notions and principles, without any, or upon slight examination; and what are, at all, considered, are usually built on others already admitted, without due consideration. These crudities still produce more, and the accumulated heap encreaseth with our years; and would be greater than it is, but that many are forgotten, and others carried off by accidental conviction; sometimes from truths, and sometimes from new mistakes.

We should consider ourselves as rational beings at large, no matter of what age, or of what country, nor even of what part of the universe we are inhabitants, no more than it would be to consider ourselves as of such a city, or such a parish. Opinions taken up early, and from those we have

loved and honoured, and which we see to be approved and applauded by such, be their numbers ever so great, must have no advantage with us upon these accounts. Neither must our own passions, or interest be allowed to give the least bias to our judgments when we are upon a rational enquiry. A connoisseur must consider the ancients, the Italians, Vandyke, Annibale Caracci, Giulio Romano, Michael Angelo, and even the divine Raphael himself as fallible, and examine their works with the same unbiassed indifference, as if he had never heard of such men. Nor must any thing be taken for granted; we must examine up to first principles, and go on step by step, in all our deductions; contenting ourselves with that degree of light we can thus strike out, without fancying any degree of assent is due to any proposition beyond what we can see evidence for; if the nature of the thing admits of no proof, we are to give no assent. And as truth is uniform, and evermore consistent with itself, the mind thus remains in perfect serenity; whereas we must be eternally perplexed and uneasy if we mix reason with prejudice, and when we discover a bright beam of truth by rational evidence, endeavour to reconcile it with propositions taken up in another manner, if those happen to be erroneous; and still the more, if, for the sake of those unexamined notions, we reject what our reason is otherwise convinced of.

There are certain arguments, which a connoisseur is utterly to reject, as not being such by which he is to form his judgment, of what use soever they may be to those who are incapable of judging otherwise, or who will not take the pains to know better. Some of these have really no weight

weight at all in them, the best are very precarious, and only serve to persuade us the thing is good in general, not in what respect it is so. That a picture or drawing has been, or is much esteemed by those who are believed to be good judges; or is, or was part of a famous collection, cost so much, has a rich frame, or the like. Whoever makes use of such arguments as these, besides that they are very fallacious, takes the thing upon trust, which a good connoisseur should never condescend to do. That it is old, Italian, rough, smooth. These are circumstances hardly worth mentioning, and which belong equally to good and bad. A picture or drawing may be too old to be good; but in the golden age of painting, which was that of Raphael, about two hundred years ago, there were wretched painters, as well as before, and since; and in Italy, as well as elsewhere. Nor is a picture the better, or the worse, for being rough, or smooth, simply considered. Of works that are left us of the ancients themselves, nine parts in ten are but indifferent, and many wretched. One of the commonest and most deluding arguments that is used on this occasion is, that it is of the hand of such a one. Though this has no great weight in it, even admitting it to be really of that hand, which very often it is not: The best masters have had their beginnings and decays, and great inequalities throughout their whole lives, as shall be more fully noted hereafter. That it is done by one who has had great helps and opportunities of improving himself, or one that says he is a great master, is what people are very ready to be cheated by, and not one jot the less for having found that they have been so cheated again and again before, nay, though they justly laugh

laugh at, and despise the man at the same time. To infer a thing is, because it ought to be, is unreasonable, because experience should teach us better; but often we think there are opportunities, and advantages where there are none, or not in the degree we imagine; and to take a man's own word, where his interest, or vanity should make us suspect him is sufficiently unaccountable. Whoever builds upon a supposition of the good sense, and integrity of mankind has a very sandy foundation, and yet this is what we find many a popular argument rests upon, in other cases, as well as in this. But, (as I said) whether these kind of arguments above-mentioned have any thing in them or not, a connoisseur has nothing to do with them; his business is to judge from the intrinsic qualities of the thing itself; as when a man receives a proposition in divinity, (for example) not because it was believed by his ancestors, or established a thousand years ago, or for whatever other such like reasons; but because he has examined, and considered the thing itself as if it were just now offered to the world, and absolutely divested of all those collateral advantages.

In making our remarks upon a picture, or a drawing, we are only to consider what we find, without any regard to what, perhaps, the master intended. It is commonly said of commentators, that they discover more beauties than the author ever thought of: perhaps they do; and what then? are they less beauties for that, or less worthy our notice? or are there not defects also that were never intended? If one may not be brought to account, neither let the other: This is the advantage a writer, or painter, or any other artist ought to have;

GOODNESS OF A PICTURE. 171

have; his lucky inadvertencies should help to ballance against his unlucky ones.

But after all, perhaps these beauties were thought of, and intended by the master or author; and perhaps, a great many more than the commentator ever dreamt of: and perhaps also what are judged to be defects are not so. The author, or artist of what sort soever (if he be a good one especially) is in more danger of suffering by the oversights, ignorance, malice, or other evil quality of his commentators, than he is likely to gain by their penetration, indulgence, good nature, or whatever other good quality. Commentators are in a fine situation! We, like the poor mariners, with infinite pains and hazards fetch in from all parts things for use or delight; they, like the merchants at their ease receive all from our hands, and say this is well, or that ill, as their opinion or caprice suggests. For God's sake, let us have justice if we are not allowed indulgence: Let there not be a draw-back upon what is well, and none on what is amiss: Either let supposes, and peradventures be equally admitted on both sides; or (which is better) let them be intirely excluded.

To judge of the goodness of a picture, drawing, or print, it is necessary to establish to ourselves a system of rules to be applied to that we intend to give a judgment of; these are no other than those which he that is to give such judgment would have been directed by, had he been to have made, what now he is to judge of.

And these rules must be our own; whether as being the result of our own study and observation, and drawn up and composed by us; or by some other, and examined, and approved by us.

Here

Here in order to make this discourse as complete as I could I should have been obliged to have given such a system, but having done that at large in my former essay, that affair is over, it is at the reader's service, and he may use that or any other, or one composed out of several, with additions and improvements, or without, as he thinks fit: However I will here make him an offer of an abstract of what I take to be those by which a painter or connoisseur may safely conduct himself, referring to the preceding essay for further satisfaction.

I. The subject, whatever it be, history, portrait, landscape, &c. must be finely imagined, and if possible improved in the painter's hands; he must think well as a historian, poet, philosopher, or divine, and moreover as a painter in making a wise use of all the advantages of his art, and finding expedients to supply its defects.

II. The expression must be proper to the subject, and the characters of the persons; it must be strong; so that the dumb-show may be perfectly well, and readily understood. Every part of the picture must contribute to this end; colours, animals, draperies, and especially the actions of the figures, and above all the airs of the heads.

III. There must be one principal light, and this, and all the subordinate ones with the shadows and repotes, must make one intire harmonious mass; the several parts must be well connected and contrasted, so as that the whole composition at first view, must be grateful to the eye, as a good piece of musick is to the ear. By this means the picture is not only more delightful, but better seen and comprehended.

IV. The

IV. The drawing must be just; nothing must be flat, lame, or ill-proportioned; and these proportions must vary according to the characters of the persons drawn.

V. The colouring, whether gay or solid, must be natural, beautiful and clean, and what the eye is delighted with, in shadows as well as lights and middle tints.

VI. And whether the colours are laid on thick, or finely wrought, it must appear to be done by a light and accurate hand.

Lastly, Nature must be the foundation. This must still and ever appear; but nature must be raised and improved, not only from what is commonly seen to what is but rarely; but even yet higher, from a judicious and beautiful idea in the painter's mind, so that grace and greatness may shine throughout; more or less however as the subject may happen to be. And herein consists the principal excellency of a picture or drawing.

These few plain rules, being thoroughly comprehended and remembered (which may be done with a tolerable measure of good sense, a little trouble in reading, and a good deal of observation on nature, and pictures and drawings of good masters) I will venture to say are sufficient to qualify a gentleman to be a good judge in these matters, as being derived from, and evidently founded upon reason; and though not destitute of abundant authority, yet neither borrowed from thence, or at all trusting to that for their support.

And, let me be again permitted to say it, I advance nothing upon the foot of authority. Whatever authorities there may be for any proposition, the single value of these themselves consists in their being derived from reason; and they weigh with
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me in proportion as I can see they do so; they then become my own, and I have no occasion to produce the author, but the reason: Or (if this be obvious) leave it to be observed by the reader.

And the matter would terminate here, though we had a book of rules for painting said to be written by Apelles himself, and it were allowed that what Apelles said was infallibly true; for then, instead of saying are these rules good, are they founded upon reason? the question would only be, Are they really of him? Their authority then will rest, not upon the credit of Apelles, but upon the testimony of those who affirm they are his. Which I shall not want, if I find the rules to be good; and if I do not, it will be insufficient: And all this without the least prejudice to the profound respect I have for Apelles; nay, it is a necessary consequence of it.

To judge of the degrees of goodness of a picture or drawing, it is necessary that the connoisseur should be thoroughly acquainted and perpetually conversant with the best. For how perfectly soever he may be master of the rules of the art, he will know that those are like what divines call precepts of perfection; that is, they are given as what we should endeavour to go by as far as we are able. The best things we know will be the standard by which we shall judge of those and all the rest. Carlo Maratti and Giuseppe Chiari will be a Raphael, and Giulio Romano, to him who has never seen better; and then an inferior master will make a good Carlo. I have been surprized to observe what pleasure some connoisseurs have taken in what another looked upon with little, if not with contempt, until I have considered one was not so well acquainted

acquainted with the works of the best masters as the other, and that accounts for it sufficiently.

All the different degrees of goodness in painting may be reduced to these three general classes. The mediocre or indifferently good, the excellent, and the sublime. The first is of a large extent; the second much narrower; and the last still more so. I believe most people have a pretty clear and just idea of the two former; the other is not so well understood; which therefore I will define according to the sense I have of it; and I take it to consist of the highest degrees of excellence in those kinds and parts of painting which are excellent; the sublime therefore must be marvellous and surprising; it must strike vehemently upon the mind, and fill and captivate it irresistibly.

Upon this occasion we will just enquire, en passant, whether it is our interest to have so refined a taste in general, as to be pleased only with a very few things, and these rarely to be found; which therefore contracts our enjoyments, whereas it is our business rather to enlarge them. It will be readily suggested in answer to this, That what is lost upon account of the number of our pleasures, will be gained in the quality of them. The question then will be, Whether the noisy, tumultuous pleasures of the vulgar are not equivalent to those which the most refined wits taste; that is, whether one man is not as happy, or pleased (which is the same thing) with an uncommon, diverting accident at the bear-garden, or with a bad picture, as another in considering some of the noblest instances of the sublime in Raphael or Homer? The answer to which is very short, He is not; and that for the same reason as an oyster is not capable of the same degree of pleasure as a man. It will not follow however
that,

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that, upon the foot of the account, one is more happy than the other; because that delicacy and acuteness of mind which is susceptible of the greatest pleasure, is proportionably so with respect to its contrary: But the competition is not now betwixt enjoyment and misery, but one pleasure and another. And thus it appears, that a man is in no danger of diminishing his happiness by refining his taste. "God was not in the storm, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice."

Hitherto I have been considering the goodness of a picture as being done according to the rules of art: There is another kind of goodness, and that is, as the picture or drawing answers the ends intended to be served by them; of which there are several, but all reducible to these two general ones, pleasure and improvement.*

I am sorry the great and principal end of the art hath hitherto been so little considered; I do not mean by gentlemen only, but by those who ought to have gone higher, and to have taught others to have followed them. It is no wonder if many who are accustomed to think superficially look on pictures as they would on a piece of rich hangings; or if such as these (and some painters among the rest) fix upon the pencil, the colouring, or perhaps the drawing, and some little circumstantial parts in the picture, or even the just representation of common nature, without penetrating into the idea of the painter, and the beauties of the history, or fable. I say, it is no wonder if this so frequently happens when those,

* Et prodesse volunt & delectare poetæ:

Ut pictura poësis.

HOR. AR. POET. 333.

whether

whether ancients or moderns, who have wrote of painting, in describing the works of painters in their lives, or on other occasions, have very rarely done any more; or, in order to give us a great idea of some of the best painters, have told us such silly stories * as that of the curtain of Parrhasius which deceived Zeuxis, of the small lines one upon the other in the contention † between Apelles and Protogenes, of the ‡ circle of Giotto, and such like; trifles, which if a man were ever so expert at, without going many degrees higher, he would not be worthy the name of a painter, || much less of being remembered by posterity with honour.

It is true, there are some kinds of pictures which can do no more than please, as it is the case of some kinds of writings; but one may as well say a library is only for ornament and ostentation, as a collection of pictures or drawings. If such is the only end, I am sure it is not from any defect in the nature of the things themselves.

I repeat it again, and would inculcate it, painting is a fine piece of workmanship; it is a beautiful ornament, and as such gives us pleasure; but over and above this, painters are upon the level with writers, as being poets, historians, philosophers and divines, they entertain and instruct

* See Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxx. 10.

† Id. ib.

‡ See Vafari in his life.

|| ——— Neque enim concludere versum

Dixeris esse satis, neque si quis scribat, uti nos,

Sermoni propiora; putes hunc esse poetam.

Ingenium cui sit, cui mens diviniore, atque os

Magna sonaturum, des nomines hujus honorem.

HOR. Sat. iv. 40.

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equally with them. This is true, and manifest beyond dispute, whatever mens notions have been;

To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,
To raise the genius, and to mend the heart.

Mr. POPE.

is the business of painting as well as of tragedy.

There being pictures of several kinds, some capable only of pleasing, and others also of instructing and improving the mind; this being the nobler end, a difference ought to be made accordingly; two pictures may be equally good, with respect to the rules of the art, equally well drawn, coloured, &c. but very different, with respect to the rank they ought to hold in our estimation: A boor opening of muscles, and a Madona may be one as well painted as the other, but there can be no dispute when the question is, which of these two is preferable.

So several of the parts of painting may be equally well in the same picture, but they are not equally considerable in themselves; a fine pencil (for example) is not comparable to a fine invention.

When therefore we are to make a judgment in what degree of goodness a picture or drawing is, we should consider its kind first, and then its several parts. A history is preferable to a landscape, sea-piece, animals, fruit, flowers, or any other still life, pieces of drollery, &c. the reason is, the latter kinds may please, and in proportion as they do so they are estimable, and that is according to every one's taste, but they cannot improve the mind, they excite no noble sentiments; at least not as the other naturally does. These not only give us pleasure, as being beautiful objects, and
furnishing

furnishing us with ideas as the other do, but the pleasure we receive from hence is greater (I speak in general, and what the nature of the thing is capable of) it is of a nobler kind than the other; and then moreover, which is the chief of all, the mind may be enriched and made better.

A portrait is a sort of general history of the life of the person it represents, not only to him who is acquainted with it, but to many others, who upon occasion of seeing it are frequently told, of what is most material concerning him, or his general character at least; the face and figure is also described, and as much of the character as appears by these, which oftentimes is here seen in a very great degree. These therefore many times answer the ends of historical pictures. And to relations or friends give a pleasure greater than any other can.

There are many single heads which are historical, and may be applied to several stories. I have many such; I have, for instance, a boy's head of Parmegiano, in whose every feature appears such an overflowing joy, and that too not common, but holy and divine, that I imagine him a little angel rejoicing at the birth of the Son of God. I have another of Leonardo da Vinci of a youth very angelical, and in whom yet appears an air such as Milton describes

— Dim sadness did not spare
That time celestial visages, yet mixt
With pity, violated not their blifs.

This I suppose to be present at the agony of our Lord, or his crucifixion, or seeing him dead, with his blessed mother in that her vast distress. Single figures may be also thus applied and made histo-

rical. But heads, not thus applicable, must be reckoned in an inferior class, and more or less so according as they happen to be. As portraits that are not known are not equally considerable with those that are; though upon account of the dignity of the subject they may be reckoned in the first class of those wherein the principal end of painting is not fully answered, and capable however of the sublime.

The kind of picture or drawing having been considered, regard is to be had to the parts of painting; we should see in which of these they excel, and in what degree it excels.

And these several parts do not equally contribute to the ends of painting; but (I think) ought to stand in this order:

GRACE AND GREATNESS,
INVENTION,
EXPRESSION,
COMPOSITION,
COLOURING,
DRAWING,
HANDLING.

The last can please only; the next (by which I understand pure nature, for the great and genteel stile of drawing falls into another part) this also can only please, colouring pleases more; composition pleases at least as much as colouring, and moreover helps to instruct, as it makes those parts that do so more conspicuous; expression pleases, and instructs greatly; the invention does both in a higher degree, and grace and greatness above all. Nor is it peculiar to that story, fable, or whatever the subject is, but in general raises our
idea

idea of the species, gives a most delightful virtuous pride, and kindles in noble minds an ambition to act up to that dignity thus conceived to be in human nature. In the former parts the eye is employed, in the other the understanding.

By thus considering in what rank of estimation the several parts of painting ought to stand, we may (by the way) observe what degrees of merit each master hath, for those are more or less in proportion as he has excelled in those parts which are preferable. Thus Albert Durer, though his design was very correct, can by no means stand in competition with Corregio, who was defective in that particular, because the latter had grace and greatness, which the other had not.

And thus also it is seen that drawings, in many respects, are preferable to paintings, as having those qualities which are most excellent in a higher degree than paintings generally have, or can possibly have; and the others (excepting only colouring) equally with them. There is a grace, a delicacy, a spirit in drawings, which, when the master attempts to give them in colours, are commonly much diminished; these being a sort of copying from those first thoughts; and while the master is labouring to attain qualities that drawings have not, he loses, in some degree, those which they have, and which are of a higher kind.

There are other considerations relating to pictures, drawings, and more particularly to prints; but as these are intirely distinct from that of their goodness as works of art, and are only concerning their value to the buyer or seller, such as the condition they are in, their rarity, or other such like circumstances; though these things are of importance on some occasions they are foreign to

the subject of my present discourse, and so it is enough just to have mentioned them.

Whatever we look upon therefore should be considered distinctly and particularly, and not only seen in general to be fine or not, but nicely defined, wherein it is one or the other. Most of our writers have been very superficial in this respect; they have said where a picture of such a master was, and have told us the subject, and bestowed certain epithets upon it, as that it was divine, surprising, or that such a figure seemed to be alive, and the like; and this without distinction to works of very different characters, but the same general descriptions serve for all; so that we can have no clear idea of them from those authors; and I do not doubt but most of those that look upon pictures or drawings, take in such imperfect, unformed and confused ideas; if we are pleased or displeased, if our minds are improved or hurt, we should observe from what cause this has happened, what part of painting the master has succeeded, or been defective in, and to what degree? Or is this owing to the subject, rather than to the manner of treating it, and how far? Such, and the like considerations will help to give us clear and distinct ideas of the work and the master, which a good connoisseur should always form in his mind. And the better to do this he should

Lastly, Observe method and order in his way of thinking; not mixing and jumbling observations of different kinds, but going on gradually from one thing to another, dispatching the first before he embarrasseth himself with any other.

And this every one may do for himself, and perhaps better than he can be directed by another.

The

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The following method seems to me to be the most natural, convenient, and proper.

Before you come so near the picture to be considered as to look into particulars, or even to be able to know what the subject of it is, at least before you take notice of that, observe the tout-ensemble of the masses, and what kind of one the whole makes together. It will be proper at the same distance to consider the general colouring; whether that be grateful, chearing, and delightful to the eye, or disagreeable; then let the composition be examined near, and see the contrasts, and other particularities relating to it, and so finish your observations on that head. The same then may be done with respect to the colouring; then the handling, and afterwards the drawing; these being dispatched, the mind is at liberty carefully to consider the invention; then to see how well the expression is performed. And lastly, what grace and greatness is spread throughout, and how suitable to each character.

Monsieur de Piles has a pretty thought of a scale, whereby he gives an idea in short of the merit of the painters. I have given some account of it in the latter end of my former essay. This, with a little alteration and improvement may be of great use to lovers of art and connoisseurs.

I will keep to the number 18 to denote the highest degree of excellence; and that, and the preceding one shall stand for the sublime in those parts of painting that are capable of it. 16. 15. 14. 13. shall denote excellence in these 4 degrees, as from 12 to 5 inclusive shall signify the mediocre: And though bad pictures are not worth our notice at all, good ones may be bad in some particulars; I will therefore reserve the other 4 numbers

N 4

to

to express that. Not that the province of bad is of no greater extent than that of excellent, but because good masters, whose works only I am concerned about, very rarely sink many degrees into bad; if it should so happen, let that be marked with a cypher only.

The use to be made of this scale is this: A little pocket-book might be always ready, every leaf of which should be prepared as shall be seen presently. And when one considers a picture, an estimate might be made of it by putting such figures under each head as shall be judged proper; or more than one if in one part of the picture there be any considerable difference from what is in another, or if there be a double consideration requiring it.

I will give a specimen of what I have been proposing; and the subject shall be a portrait of Vandyke, which I have: it is a half-length of a coun-
tess dowager of Exeter, as I learn from the print made of it by Faithorn, and this is almost all one can learn from that concerning the picture, besides the general attitude and disposition of it.

The dress is black velvet, and that appearing almost one large spot, the lights not being so managed as to connect it with the other parts of the picture; the face and linen at the neck, and the two hands, and broad cuffs at the wrists, being by this means three several spots of light, and that near of an equal degree, and forming almost an equilateral triangle, the base of which is parallel to that of the picture, the composition is defective; and this occasioned chiefly from the want of those lights upon the black. But so far as the head, and almost to the waist, with the curtain behind, there is an admirable harmony; the chair
also

also makes a medium between the figure and the ground. The eye is delivered down into that dead black spot, the drapery, with great ease; the neck is covered with linen, and at the breast the top of the stomacher makes a straight line. This would have been very harsh and disagreeable, but that it is very artfully broken by the bows of a knot of narrow ribbon which rise above that line in fine, well-contrasted shapes. This knot fastens a jewel on the breast, which also helps to produce the harmony of this part of the picture; and the white gloves which the lady holds in her left hand, helps the composition something, as they vary that light spot from that which the other hand and linen make.

The general hue of the colouring is extremely beautiful; it is solemn, but warm, mellow, clean, and natural; the flesh, which is exquisitely good, especially the face, the black habit, the linen and cushion, the chair of crimson velvet, and the gold flowered curtain mixt with a little crimson have an admirable effect, and would be perfect were there a middle tinct among the black.

The face and hands, are a model for a pencil in portrait painting; it is not Vandyke's first laboured Flemish manner, nor in the least careless or slight; the colours are well wrought, and touched in his best style; nor is the curtain in the least inferior in this particular, though the manner is varied as it ought to be, the pencil is there more seen than in the flesh; the hair, veil, chair, and indeed throughout, except the black dress is finely handled.

The face is admirably well drawn; the features are pronounced clean, and firmly, so as it is evident he who did that, conceived strong and distinct ideas, and saw wherein the lines that
formed

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formed those differed from all others; there appears nothing of the antique, or Raphael taste of designing; but nature, well understood, well chosen, and well managed; the lights and shadows are justly placed and shaped, and both sides of the face answer well to each other. The jewel on the breast is finely disposed, and directs the eye to the line between the breasts, though concealed otherwise by the widow dress, and gives the body there a great relief; the girdle also hath a good effect, for by being marked pretty strongly the eye is shown the waist very readily. The linen, the jewel, the gold curtain, the gauze veil are all extremely natural, that is they are justly drawn and coloured. But the want of those lights I have so often lamented is the cause that the figure does not appear to sit firmly, the thighs and knees are lost. Nor is the drawing of the arms, nor even of the hands altogether as one would wish, particularly the left, and this not only in the outlines, but the lights and shadows; especially of that hand, which by being too light is brought out of its true place, and nearer the eye than it ought to be. There are also some oversights in the perspective of the chair and curtain; in the lineal part of the former, and in the aerial part in both.

These being thus dispatched we are at liberty to consider the invention. Vandyke's thought seems to have been that the lady should be sitting in her own room receiving a visit of condolence from an inferior with great benignity, as shall be seen presently; I would here observe the beauty and propriety of this thought. For by this the picture is not an insipid representation of a face and dress, but here is also a picture of the mind, and what more proper to a widow than sorrow?
and

and more becoming a person of quality than humility and benevolence? Besides, had she been supposed to have appeared to her equals, or superiors, the furniture of the place must have been mourning, and her gloves on, but the colours of the curtain and chair, and the contrast occasioned by the gloves in her hand have a fine effect.

Never was a calm becoming sorrow better expressed than in this face, chiefly there where it is always most conspicuous, that is in the eyes: Not Guido Reni, no, nor Raphael himself could have conceived a passion with more delicacy, or more strongly expressed it! to which also the whole attitude of the figure contributes not a little; her right hand drops easily from the elbow of the chair, which her wrist lightly rests upon, the other lies in her lap towards her left knee, all which together appears so easy and careless, that what is lost in the composition by the regularity I have taken notice of, is gained in the expression; which, being of greater consequence, justifies Vandyke in the main, and shows his great judgment, for though as it is, there is (as I said) something amiss, I cannot conceive any way of avoiding that inconvenience without a greater.

And notwithstanding the defects I have taken the liberty to remark, with the same indifferency as I have observed the beauties, that is, without the least regard to the great name of the master, there is a grace throughout that charms, and a greatness that commands respect; she appears at first sight to be a well-bred woman of quality, by her face, and in her mien; and as her dress, ornaments, and furniture contribute something to the greatness, the gauze veil coming over her forehead, and the hem of it hiding a defect (which was want
of

of eye-brows,) is a fine artifice to give more grace. This grace and greatness is not that of Raphael, or the antique, but what is suitable to a portrait, to one of her age and character; and consequently better than if she had appeared with the grace of a Venus, or Helena, or the majesty of a Minerva, or Semiramis.

It remains to consider this picture in the other view; we have seen in what degree the rules of painting have been observed; let us now enquire how far the ends of pleasure, and advantage are answered.

And this is more or less as a man's present fancy, judgment, or other circumstances happen to be; these considerations are purely personal, and every man must judge for himself. Here therefore I shall be very short, I will omit many reflections that I might make, and expatiate upon, and only touch some of the principal.

The beauty and harmony of the colouring give me a great degree of pleasure; for, though this is grave and solid, it hath a beauty not less than what is bright and gay. So much of the composition as is good does also much delight the eye; and though the lady is not young, nor remarkably handsome, the grace and greatness that are here represented please exceedingly. In a word, as throughout this whole picture one sees instances of an accurate hand, and fine thought, these must give proportionable pleasure to so hearty a lover as I am.

The advantages of this picture to me, as a painter, are very considerable. A better master for portrait painting, and the simple representation of nature, as it is, perhaps never was, and a better manner of this master I have never seen:
there

there is such a benignity, such a genteel, becoming behaviour, such a decent sorrow, and resignation expressed here, that a man must be very insensible that is not the better for considering it; the mourning habit excites serious thoughts, which may produce good effects. But what I confess I am particularly affected with, I who (I thank God) have for many years been happy as a husband, is the circumstance of widowhood, not that it gives me sorrow as remembering the conjugal knot must be cut, but I rejoice that it yet subsists.

Hail sacred wedlock where discretion join'd
 With virtue chooses, and approves the choice.
 "Perpetual fountain of domestick sweets!
 "Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
 "His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
 "Reigns here, and revels;" not in the bought smile
 Of harlots, equally obtain'd by all,
 And with contempt, and various terrors mixt.
 This sweet society dissolves our fears,
 Doubles our pleasures, and divides our cares;
 Here love with friendship, and esteem is found,
 And mutual joy with innocence is crown'd.

I will only add before I produce my scale, that this being a portrait, and the face therefore by much the most considerable, I have made a particular column for that, which for other pictures is not necessary.

Countess

Countess Dowager of Exeter.

V A N D Y K E.

October the 16th, 1717.

F A C E.

Composition	10	18
Colouring	17	18
Handling	17	18
Drawing	10	17
Invention	18	18
Expression	18	18
Grace and Greatness	18	18

Advantage	Pleasure
18	16

Sublime.

The blank is for landscapes or animals, or any other particular in a history, or portrait that is worthy remarking in an article by itself. That at the bottom for any memorandum that may be thought proper besides what is said at top where the picture, owner, time seen, &c. may be specified.

Whoever

Whoever practices a regular way of considering a picture or drawing, will, I am confident, find the benefit of it; and if they will moreover note down the degrees of estimation, in this manner, it will be of further use; it will give a man a more clear and distinct idea of the thing, it will be a further exercise of his judgment, a remembrance of what he hath seen, and by considering it together with the picture, months, or years afterwards, he will see whether his judgment is altered, and wherein.

And if still any one will give himself the trouble to make a dissertation upon what he thinks worthy of it, such a scale of merit, made upon the place, will serve as short notes to help his memory if he hath not the picture before him; but the making such a dissertation will be a fine exercise of a gentleman's abilities as a connoisseur, and may moreover be an agreeable amusement.

In such dissertation it will not be necessary for any one to confine himself to the order in which it is best to consider the picture; he may begin at the invention, if a history, or at the face, if a portrait, or how he thinks best; and remark on the advantage and pleasure to be had from it or not.

Notwithstanding what I have already done, I fancy an example of such a dissertation will not be unacceptable, because it shall be of a very capital picture, and one wherein there is an instance of expression which will be supplemental to the chapter in my theory on that head; it is what I have not mentioned there, for I had not seen one of that kind when I wrote that.

The specimen I am now about to give is part of a letter (though in another language) written to a gentle-

gentleman at Rotterdam *, an excellent connoisseur, a hearty lover of the art, and master of a noble collection of pictures, drawings, and antiques; and one for whom I have upon these, and many other accounts the utmost respect and friendship that it is possible to have for one whom I have never had the happiness to see, or converse with, otherwise than at this distance; though my son hath, and has received particular marks of his favour, with a present at parting of a fine antique figure in marble, and a drawing of Raphael. The correspondence we have the honour to have with him is by me, and my son jointly, for reasons not here necessary to be given.

————— A friend of ours (Mr. Thornhill, an excellent history painter) has been in France lately, and has bought several good pictures, some of which are arrived, the principal of these is a capital one indeed; we will give you as good an account of it as we can, and of the other when they arrive if they merit it, as we doubt not they will.

This is of N. Poussin †, it is 3 foot 3 inches long, and 2 foot 6 inches high, perfectly well preserved; it was Monsieur’s who was so severely squeezed by the chamber of justice that all his goods were sold, and this picture amongst the rest. It is a story of Tasso’s Gerusalemme, cant. 19. which is briefly this:

* Mons. Flinck, since dead.

† This picture, my father’s and my good and ancient friend, the late Mr. William Locke, bought at sir James Thornhill’s sale; and is now in the possession of his son; whose natural fine taste in these arts, improved by his acquaintance with the works of the great masters abroad, give him a just enjoyment of this, as well as the rest of his elegant collection.

Tancred

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Tancred a christian hero, and Argante a pagan giant, retire to a solitary place amongst the mountains to try their fortune in single combat; Argante is slain, the other so desperately wounded, that after he had gone a little way he dropped, and fell into a swoon. Erminia who was in love with him, and Vafrino his esquire (by what accident it is too long to tell) found him in this condition, but after the first fright, perceiving life in him, his mistress bound up his wounds, and her veil not being sufficient for that purpose, she cut off her fine hair to supply that defect, and so recovered him, and brought him safe to the army.

Poussin hath chosen the instant of her cutting off her hair; Tancred lies in a graceful attitude, and well contrasted towards one end of the picture, his feet coming about the middle, and at a little distance from the bottom; Vafrino is at his head raising him up against a little bank, on which he supports himself kneeling on his left knee. Erminia is at his feet, kneeling on the ground with her right knee; beyond her, at a distance, lies Argante dead; behind, are the horses of Erminia, and Vafrino; and toward the top at that end of the picture which is on the left hand as you look upon it, and over the heads of Tancred and Vafrino are two loves with their torches in their hands; the back-ground is composed of rocks, trunks of trees with few leaves or branches, and a sombrous sky.

The stile is a mixture of Poussin's usual manner, and (what is very rare) a great deal of Giulio Romano's, particularly in the head, and attitude of the lady, and both the horses; Tancred is naked to the waist, having been stripped by Erminia and his esquire to search for his wounds; he

he has a piece of loose drapery which is yellow, bearing upon the red in the middle tincts and shadows, this is thrown over his belly and thighs, and lies a good length upon the ground; this doubtless painted by the life, and is of a more modern taste than his generally was. And, that nothing might be shocking or disagreeable, the wounds are much hid, nor is his body or garment stained with blood, only some appears here and there upon the ground just below the drapery, as if it flowed from some wounds which that covered; nor is he pale, but as one reviving, and his blood and spirits returning to their usual motion.

The habits are not those of the age in which the scene of the fable is laid, these must have been Gothick, and disagreeable, it being at the latter end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century: Erminia is clad in blue, admirably folded, and in a great stile, something like that of Giulio, but more upon the antique, or Raphael; one of her feet is seen which is very genteel, and artfully disposed; her sandal is very particular, for it is a little raised under the heel as our children's shoes. Vafino hath a helmet on, with a large bent plate of gold, instead of, and something with the turn of a feather. We do not remember any thing like it in the antique; there is no such thing in the column of Trajan, nor that of Antonine (as it is usually called, though it is now known to be of M. Aurelius) nor (I believe) in the works of Raphael, Giulio, or Polidore, when they have imitated the ancients; though these, especially the two former, have taken like liberties; and, departing from the simplicity of their great masters, have in these instances given a little into the Gothick taste. This is probably Poussin's

Pouffin's own invention, and hath so fine an effect, that I cannot imagine any thing else could possibly have been so well. This figure is in armour, not with labels, but scarlet drapery, where those usually are in the antique. The two Cupids are admirably well disposed, and enrich and enliven the picture; as do the helmet, shield, and armour of Tancred which lie at his feet. The attitudes of the horses are exceeding fine; one of them turns his head backwards with great spirit, the other has his hinder part raised, which not only has a noble effect in the picture, but helps to tell what kind of place it was, which was rough and unfrequented.

It is observable, that though Tasso says only that Erminia cuts off her hair, Pouffin was forced to explain what she cut it off withal, and he has given her her lover's sword. We do not at all question but there will be those who will fancy they have here discovered a notorious absurdity in Pouffin, it being impossible to cut hair with a sword; but though it be, a pair of scissars instead of it, though much the fitter for the purpose, had spoiled the picture; painting and poetry equally disdain such low and common things. This is a licence much of the same kind with that of Raphael in the carton of the draught of fishes, where the boat is by much too little for the figures that are in it; or with the Laocoon who is naked; whereas, being a priest in his sacerdotal office, he must have been supposed to have been clad: But we need not tell you, Sir, why those noble pieces of painting and sculpture were thus represented. This puts me in mind of a fine distich of our Dryden:

O 2

For

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For he that fervilely creeps after sense
Is safe, but ne'er arrives at excellence.

It will be worth while to observe a small circumstance: One of the horses is fastened to a tree; if it were supposed to be Erminia's, and done by herself, it would be an intolerable fault against decorum; she must have had other thoughts than to secure her horse when she dismounted; for it was not till Vafrino had found that he whom at first sight they took to be a stranger (as well as Argante) was Tancred; and then she is finely described by Tasso as flinging herself, rather than lighting, from her horse.

Non scese, nè, precipitò di sella.

But it may as well be Vafrino's; or if it was her's, perhaps his care was divided betwixt the wounded hero and the lady, to whom it was of consequence to have her horse secured. It will not be thought partiality to suppose so great a man as Poussin would not be guilty of such an oversight as this, taking it in the worst sense; but it would be unjust to determine otherwise, when the most favourable opinion is also the most probable; and that being taken, here is a beauty not a fault; it amplifies and raises the character of Vafrino, though it would have spoiled that of Erminia.

The expression of this picture is excellent throughout. The air of Vafrino is just, he hath a character evidently inferior, but nevertheless he appears brave, and full of care, tenderness and affection. Argante seems to be a wretch that died in rage and despair, without the least spark of piety. Tancred is good, amiable, noble and valiant. There are two circumstances in Tasso which finely raise these two characters. When these champions with-

drew

drew to fight, it was in the view of the christian soldiers, whose fury against the pagan could hardly be restrained: Tancred protected him from them, and as they retired together covered him with his shield: Afterwards, when he had him at his mercy, and Tancred would have given him his life, and in a friendly manner approached him with the offer, the villain attempted basely to murder him, upon which provocation he dispatched him immediately with scorn and fury. These incidents could not be inserted in the picture; but Pouffin has told us, by the airs he hath given them, that either were capable of any thing in these several kinds. Erminia must appear to have a mixture of hope and fear, joy and sorrow; this being the time when she had discovered life in her lover, after having supposed him dead; to express this (you know, Sir) must be exceeding difficult, and yet absolutely necessary, and that strongly and evidently, that those who look upon the picture may know to what end she cuts off her hair; and that it is not a transport of distracted grief for the death of him she loved, who is not yet recovered from his swoon; because this mistake would lose all the beauty of the story. For this reason the two loves are admirably contrived to serve this purpose, besides the other already mentioned; one of them, and that the farthest from the eye, has sorrow and fear; the other, joy and hope evidently in his face; and to express this yet more perfectly (and this is Mr. Thornhill's observation) the former has two arrows in his hand, to denote these two passions and their pungency; but the quiver of his companion is fast shut up with a sort of a cap on the top of it. He has also a chaplet of jessamine on his head.

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The composition is unexceptionable : There are innumerable instances of beautiful contrasts ; of this kind are the several characters of the persons (all which are excellent in their several kinds) and the several habits ; Tancred is half naked ; Erminia's sex distinguisheth her from all the rest ; as Vafrino's armour and helmet shew him to be inferior to Tancred (his lying by him) and Argante's armour differs from both of them. The various positions of the limbs in all the figures are also finely contrasted, and, all together, have a lovely effect ; nor did I ever see a greater harmony, nor more art to produce it, in any picture of what master soever ; whether as to the easy gradation from the principal to the subordinate parts, the connection of one with another, by the degrees of the lights and shadows, and the tincts of the colours.

And these too are good throughout ; they are not glaring, as the subject, and the time of the story (which was after sun-set) requires : Nor is the colouring like that of Titian, Corregio, Rubens, or those fine colourists ; but it is warm and mellow, it is agreeable, and of a taste which none but a great man could fall into : And without considering it as a story, or the imitation of any thing in nature, the general hue of the colours is a beautiful and delightful object.

You know, Sir, the drawing of Pouffin, as you have yourself several admirable pictures of his hand ; this we believe is not inferior to any of him. But there is an oversight or two in the perspective : The sword Erminia holds appears by the pomel of it to incline with the point going off, but by the blade it seems to be upright ; the other is not worth mentioning.

The

GOODNESS OF A PICTURE. 199

The picture is highly finished, even in the parts the most inconsiderable; the drawing is firmly pronounced; and sometimes, chiefly in the faces, hands and feet, it is marked more than ordinarily with the point of the pencil.

And (to say all in one word) there is such a grace and greatness shines throughout, that it is one of the most desirable pictures we have yet seen; there is nothing to be wished or imagined which it hath not; nothing to be added or omitted but what would have diminished its excellency; unless we have leave to except those little particulars we have remarked, hardly worth mentioning; and whether we are in the right in those is submitted to better judgments. But there are a great many beauties we have not mentioned, and some that cannot be expressed in words, nor known without seeing the picture. And perhaps some of both kinds we have not penetration enough yet to observe.

It is hard to quit so agreeable a subject. Let us observe for the honour of Poussin, and of the art, what a noble and comprehensive thought! What richness and force of imagination! What a fund of science and judgment! What a fine and accurate hand are absolutely necessary to the production of such a work! That two or three strokes of a pencil (for example) as in the face of Argante, can express a character of mind so strongly and significantly!

We will only observe further the different idea given by the painter and the poet. A reader of Tasso, who thought less finely than Poussin, would form in his imagination a picture, but not such a one as this. He would see a man of a less lovely and beautiful aspect, pale, and all cut and mangled;

gled; his body and garments smeared with blood; he would see Erminia, not such a one as Pouffin has made her; and a thousand to one with a pair of scissars in her hand, but certainly not with Tancred's sword; the two little loves would never enter into his mind; horses he would see, and let them be the finest he had ever seen, they would be less fine than these; and so of the rest. The painter hath made a finer story than the poet, tho' his readers were equal to himself, but without all comparison much finer than it can appear to the generality of them. And he has moreover not only known how to make use of the advantages this art has over that of his competitor, but in what it is defective in the comparison he has supplied it with such address, that one cannot but rejoice in the defect which occasioned such a beautiful expedient.

I confess we have not always time and opportunity thus to consider a picture how excellent soever it may be: In those cases, let us not employ that time we have in amusing ourselves with the less considerable incidents, but remark upon the principal beauties, the thought, expression, &c. *

Mr. Thornhill has lately brought from France another picture no less worthy a particular dissertation than the former, as will easily be allowed, for it is of Annibale Carracci: Here (as it is for my present purpose) I will only observe in short upon what is most remarkable in this surprizing picture; which hath not been long out of my mind since the first moment that I saw it.

* *Felicem culpam qua talem & tantum meruit habere redemptorem!* says St. Austin somewhere, on a much more important subject.

The subject of it is the Virgin, as protectress of Bologna: This appears by the prospect of that city at the bottom of the picture under the clouds on which she is seated in glory, encompassed with cherubims, boy-angels, and others as usually described: But oh! the sublimity of expression! What dignity and devotion appears in the Virgin! What awful regard! What love! What delight and complacency in these angelic beings towards the Mother of the Son of God! The aspect of the Christ is proper to the character he here sustains; he is now only to denote the Virgin, as St. Jerome's lion, St. John's eagle, and the like; he is not here as the second person in the trinity; the Virgin is the only principal figure; he is as it were a part of her, whose character is alone to be considered in this case; and accordingly every thing contributes to raise it as much as possible; and this is done surprizingly. But as every thing else in the picture is addressed towards her, she, in the humblest and most devout manner, lifts up her eyes towards the invisible supreme being, directing our thoughts thither also, with like humble, pious and devout sentiments. If she, to whom the angels appear so vastly inferior, is in his presence but a poor suppliant, what an exalted idea must this give of him!

Angelic minds the nearest to thyself,
 Those who conceive of thee as far beyond
 Our low conceptions as the eagle's flight
 Transcends our utmost stretch, these see thee not,
 Nor canst thou be discern'd but by thyself;
 What art thou then as by thyself beheld!
 Just as thou art! unclouded! undiminish'd!
 In full perfection! O the joy divine!
 Ineffable! of that enlightned mind

Where

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Where this idea shines eternally!
The noblest, loveliest, and most excellent,
Ev'n the mind divine itself conceives!

HYMN to GOD. v.

OF THE
KNOWLEDGE OF HANDS.

IN all the works of art there are to be considered, the thought and the workmanship, or manner of expressing or executing that thought. What ideas the artist had we can only guess at by what we see, and consequently cannot tell how far he has fallen short, or perhaps by accident exceeded them. But the work, like the corporeal and material part of man, is apparent, and to be seen to the utmost. In the art I am discoursing upon, every thing that is done is in pursuance of some ideas the master hath conceived, whether he can reach with his hand the conceptions of his mind or no; and this is true in every part of painting. As for invention, expression, disposition, and grace and greatness, these every body must see direct us plainly to the manner of thinking, to the idea of the painter; but even in drawing, colouring and handling, in these also are seen his manner of thinking upon those subjects; one may by these guess at his ideas of what is in nature, or what was to be wished for or chosen at least. Nevertheless, when the idea or manner of thinking in a picture or drawing is opposed to the executive part, it is commonly understood of these four first mentioned, as the other three are implied by its opposite.

No

No two men in the world think and act alike, nor is it possible they should; because men fall into a way of thinking and acting from a chain of causes which never is, nor can be the same to different men. This difference is notorious, and seen by every one with respect to what is the object of our senses; and it is as evident to our reason as it is that what I have assigned as the cause of it is the true one. There are two instances that are very familiar and well known, and those are our voices and hand-writing; people of the same age, the same constitution, and in several other particulars in the same circumstances, for ought appears to common observation, are yet as easily distinguished by their voices, as by any other means: And it is wonderful to consider, that in so few circumstances as what relates to the tone of the voice, there should be (as there is) an infinite variety, so as to produce the effect I am speaking of. So in the other case, if an hundred boys learn of the same master, at the same time, yet such will be the difference, that their hands shall be distinguished, even while they are at school, and more easily afterwards; and thus it would be if a thousand or ten thousand could learn in the same manner. They see differently, take in different ideas, retain them variously, have a different power of hand to form what they conceive.

And as it is in the cases I have mentioned, so it is in all others.

So, therefore, in the works of the painters, and in a degree proportionable to what those works are; in paintings therefore more than in drawings, and in large compositions more than in single figures, or other things consisting of a few parts. If in forming an A or a B, no two men are exactly alike, neither

ther will they agree in the manner of drawing a finger or a toe, less in a whole hand or foot, less still in a face, and so on.

Not only every master differs essentially from every other master, but he frequently varies, more or less, from himself; yet generally there will be such a resemblance, such a sort of sameness, in the main, as shall shew them all, to an accurate observer, to be of him, whatever variety those manners may have compared with one another.

If there is really a difference, it will be discernable if things be attentively considered and compared, as is evident from experience in a thousand instances besides those I have mentioned.

The several manners of the painters, consequently their way of thinking and of executing, are to be known, if we have a sufficient quantity of their works to form our judgments upon.

But though there is a real difference in things, this is in various degrees, and so proportionably more or less apparent. Thus, some of the manners of the painters are as unlike one another as Alcibiades and Therfites; others are less remarkably unlike, as the generality of mens faces are; some again have a fraternal resemblance; and there are some few which have that which is frequently found in twins where the difference is but just discernable.

There are such peculiarities in the turn of thought and hand to be seen in some of the masters (in some of their works especially) that it is the easiest thing in the world to know them at first sight; such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo Buonarotti, Giulio Romano, Battista Franco, Parmegiano, Paolo Farinati, Cangiagio, Rubens, Castiglione, and some others; and in the divine Raphael

Raphael one often sees such a transcendent excellence that cannot be found in any other man; and assures us this must be the hand of him who was, what Shakespeare calls Julius Cæsar, "The foremost man of all the world."

There are several who by imitating other masters, or being of the same school, or from whatsoever other cause, have had such a resemblance in their manners as not to be so easily distinguished. Timoteo d' Urbino and Pellegrino da Modena, imitated Raphael; Cæfare da Sesto, Leonardo da Vinci; Schidone, Lanfranco, and others, imitated Corregio: Titian's first manner was very like that of Giorgione; Gio. Battista Bertano followed his master Giulio Romano; the sons of Bassano, and those of Passerotto, imitated their fathers; Romanino, Andrea Schiavone, and Giovanni Battista Zelotti, severally imitated Titian, Parmegiano, and Paulo Veronese. Biaggio Bolognese imitated sometimes Raphael, and sometimes Parmegiano. Rubens was imitated by Abraham Jansens, and Vandyke by Long-John in history, and Guildenaisel in portraits. Matham followed Giussépino; and Ciro Ferri, Pietro da Cortona. There is a great resemblance of the manner of Michael Angelo in some of the works of Andrea del Sarto, greater in the hands of the two Zuccaroes; and greater yet in those of Maturino and Polidore.

The rest of the masters are generally of a middle class, not so easily known as the former, nor with so much difficulty as the latter.

There is but one way to come to the knowledge of hands; and that is to furnish our minds with as just and compleat ideas of the masters as we can; and in proportion as we do thus we shall be good connoisseurs in this particular.

For

For when we judge, who is the author of any picture or drawing, we do the same thing as when we say, whom such a portrait resembles; in that case we find the picture answers to the idea we have laid up in our minds of such a face; so here we compare the work under consideration with the idea we have of the manner of such a master, and perceive the similitude.

And as we judge of the resemblance of a picture by the idea we have of the person whether present or absent, (for we cannot see both at the same instant,) just so we do in the present case, though we compare that in question with one or more works allowed to be of the same master, which we have before us at the same time.

These ideas of the several masters are to be had from history, and from their works.

The former of these give us general ideas of these great men as to the turn of their minds, the extent of their capacity; the variations of their styles, how their characters were singly, or as compared one with another.

And as the description of a picture is a part of the history of the master; a copy, or a print after such a one may be considered as a more exact and perfect description of it than can be given by words; these are of great advantage, in giving us an idea of the manner of thinking of that master, and this in proportion as such a print or copy happens to be. And there is one advantage which these have in this matter, which even the works themselves have not; and that is, in those commonly their other qualities divert, and divide our attention, and perhaps sometimes bias us in their favour throughout; as, who that sees
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the vastness of stile, and profound skill in designing of Michael Angelo; or the fine colouring, and brave pencil of Paulo Veronese, can forbear being prejudiced in favour of the extravagance, and indecorum of the one, and the other's neglect of history, and the antique; whereas in these, what one sees of the manner of thinking of the the master one sees naked, and without danger of being prejudiced by any other excellencies in the work itself.

But it is on these works themselves we must chiefly and ultimately depend, not only as expositors of the histories of the masters, but as carrying us much further, principally by giving us ideas which no words possibly can give, being such for which we have no name, and which cannot be communicated but by the things themselves.

History will inform us of some particulars which are necessary to be known, and which we could not learn from their works; but with this alone it would be impossible to be a connoisseur in hands; and, what is worse, we shall be frequently misled if we trust too much to the ideas we receive from thence. History, whether written or traditional, commonly gives us exalted characters of great men; he of whom the historian treats is his hero for that time, and it is commonly such a one's intention, not to make a just, but a fine picture of them; to which our own prejudices in their favour do not a little contribute. By this means it is natural for us to imagine a work in which we see great defects could not be of a hand, of which we have so favourable an idea. It is necessary therefore to correct this way of thinking, and remember that great men are but men still, and that there

there are degrees, and kinds of excellence of which we may have an idea, but to which the greatest of men could never arrive; God hath said to every man as to the ocean, "Hitherto shalt thou go, " and no farther;" there are certain bounds set to the most exalted amongst men, beyond which they are upon the level with the most inferior; nor can any man always exert those high qualities he possesseth, or in equal degrees to what he generally does; a notorious fault, or more than one in a work, nay in a single figure, is consistent with a just idea of Raphael himself, and that in his best time: Raphael indeed could not have made a lame, ill-proportioned figure, or limb; that is, if he had taken care, and did as well as he could; but Raphael might be in haste, negligent, or forget himself; he might be weary, indisposed, or out of humour. Could the inferior master, to whom the work is to be attributed upon account of these faults, be supposed capable of doing the rest? If we had seen an intire work of that bad kind, could we have believed the hand that did that have done like the good part of the work in question? It is easier to descend than to mount: Raphael could more easily do like an inferior master, in certain instances, than such a one could do like Raphael in all the rest.

And as the ideas we have of men frequently mislead us in judging from thence of their works, with respect to their goodness, the same happens as to the kinds of them. When one is possessed of the character of Michael Angelo (for instance) as fierce, bold, impetuous, haughty, and even gone beyond great, so as to have a mixture of the savage; sublimity itself run mad! when one reads
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such an account of him as this I have * cited below in the note; (and which I was the more inclined to do because it is curious, and gives one a more lively idea of the man than I have found almost any where else †, and is withal little known) one finds it hard to conceive that such a one drew very neatly, and finished very highly; and consequently young connoisseurs having this idea of this great master will not very readily believe such drawings to be of him, and yet it is incontestable that he did make such very frequently.

History nevertheless has it's use in giving us ideas of the masters, in order to judge of their hands, as has been seen already in part, and will further appear presently; but these ideas must be corrected, regulated, and perfected by the works themselves.

A picture or drawing hath so many particulars relating to it, such as the manner of thinking, stile of the composition, way of folding the draperies, airs of heads, handling of the pen, chalk, or pencil, colouring, &c. that it is no difficult matter to fix upon such peculiarities of each master, in some one or more of these, as to form

* ——— Je puis dire avoir veu Michel l' Ange, bien qu' agé de plus de soixante ans, & encore non de plus robustes, abbatre plus d'escailles d' un tref-dur marbre en un quart d' heure, que trois jeunes tailleurs de pierre n'eussent peu faire en trois ou quatre; chose presqu' incroyable à qui ne le verroit; & alloit d' une telle impetuosité & furie, que je pensois que tout l' ouvrage deust aller en peices, abbatant par terre, d' un seul coup, de gros morceaux de trois ou quatre doigts d' epaisseur, si ric à ric de sa marque, que si' l eust passé outre tant soit peu plus qu'il ne falloit, il y avoit danger de perdre tout, parceque cela ne se peut plus reparer par apres, ny replaster comme les images d' Argille, ou Stuc.—Annotations de BLAISE de Vigenere sur le Satyre de Callistrate. p. 855.

† See a proof of this, in a figure of a layman in the Gallery of Florentine Pictures in Italy.

a clear and distinct idea of them: if they resemble one another in some things, in others the difference will be more apparent: The colouring of several of the masters of the Venetian school have been like one another, but Titian's majesty of invention, Tintoret's fury, Bassan's rusticity, Paulo Veronese's magnificence, have eminently distinguished them: As do the exquisite genteelness and sweet proportions of Parmegiano; the firmness of the contours and vastness of manner of Michael Angelo, the antique stile carried often to excess of Giulio, the divine airs of the heads, and every virtue under heaven in the works of Raphael. Every one of them have something whereby they are more especially known; and which may be observed by conversing with their works, but cannot be expressed by words.

In forming our ideas of the masters on their works, diligent observation must be made on such of them as have been copied wholly, or in part, from other masters; or are imitations of them. A connoisseur therefore must observe how much is every man's own, and what is not so. Battista Franco (for example) drew from the antique, after Raphael, Michael Angelo, Polidore. You see the same small and most elegant pen throughout, this is always his own, but the manner of thinking cannot be so; nor is the handling always intirely; because he has sometimes imitated that of the master he has copied; as when it is a drawing he hath copied, and not a painting, or the antique, he then often divergeth into the master's manner of handling the pen. These occasional variations must not make a part of our ideas of the masters, unless considered as such.

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To compleat our ideas of the masters it is necessary to take in their whole lives, and to observe their several variations so far as we possibly can. It is true, he that knows any one manner of a master, may judge well of the works he meets with in that manner, but no farther. And the mischief is, men are apt to confine their ideas of the master to so much only as they know, or have conceived of him; so that when any thing appears different from this they attribute it to some other, or pronounce it not of him; as he who fixes only upon the Roman manner of Raphael will be apt to do by a work of his, before he was called to Rome; or if he builds his ideas only on the best works of that great man, he will reject the others, and ascribe them to some other hand, known, or unknown.

There are none of the masters but must have had their first, their middle, and their latter times: Generally (though not always) their beginnings have been moderately good, and their latter works (when they have happened to out-live themselves, and to decay, through age, or infirmities) are like what their bodies then were, they have no more of their former beauty and vigour. If they died early, their latter time was probably the best; Michael Angelo, Titian, and Carlo Maratti lived, and painted to a very great age; Raphael

Dropt from the Zenith like a falling star—

Other men by slow and easy steps advance in their improvements: He flew from one degree of excellence to another with such a happy vigour, that every thing he did seemed better than what he had done before; and his last works, the cartons at Hamp-

ton-Court, and the famous transfiguration are esteemed to be, and undeniably are, his best. His first manner when he came out of the school of his master Pietro Perugino, was like those of that age, stiff, and dry; but he soon mellowed his stile by the strength of his own fine genius, and the sight of the works of other good masters of that time, in and about Florence, chiefly of Lionardo da Vinci; and thus formed a second manner with which he went to Rome. Here he found, or procured whatever might contribute to his improvement; he saw great variety of the precious remains of antiquity, and employed several good hands to design all of that kind in Greece, and elsewhere, as well as in Italy; of which he formed a rare collection; here too he saw the works of Michael Angelo, whose stile may be said to be rather gigantick than great, and which abundantly distinguished him from all the masters of that age *; I know it hath been disputed whether Raphael made any advantage from seeing the works of this great sculptor, architect, and painter; which, though intended as a compliment to him, seems to me to be directly the contrary; he was too wise, and too modest not to make use of, and profit by, whatsoever was worthy of his consideration; and that he did so in this case is evident by a drawing I have of his hand, in which one sees plainly the Michael Angelo taste. Not that he rested here, his noble mind aspired to something beyond this vast genius; and whatever else the world had then to shew †, and he accomplished it, in a stile, in which there is such a judicious mixture of the antique, of the

* See Bellori, *descrizione delle imagine*, &c. p. 86, &c.

† As the emperor Charles V. stopped not short with Hercules himself, but bravely cried, *PLUS ULTRA!*

modern

modern taste, and of nature, together with his own admirable ideas, that the glorious result hath created a manner that alone could have been proper and equal to the sublimity of the works he hath executed. What further views he might have still had, and how much higher he would have carried the art, had the divine providence (who, to the honour of human nature, endued him with such excellent qualities) thought fit to have lent him longer to the world, that divine wisdom only knows.

Thus Raphael had three several manners, which are called his Perugino, his Florentine, and his Roman manners; in all which this great genius is evidently seen. But having in the two former raised himself above all the other masters, the competition afterwards was only between Raphael to day, and Raphael yesterday.

A great variety is to be found in the works of the same men from causes as natural as youth, maturity, and old age. Our bodies and minds have their irregular, and, seemingly, contingent changes as well as those stated and certain ones; such are indisposition or weakness, the weather *, the season of the year, joy, and gaiety, or grief, heaviness, or vexation, all these, and a thousand other accidents influence our works, and produce a great variety in them. Sometimes the work itself does not please us as to the kind of it, sometimes it does not succeed as we endeavour it should; this is for those we honour, and desire to please, for what reasons soever; this goes on

* Fallor? an & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?
Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo.

MILTON.

heavily, being for those who are less obliging, or less capable of seeing, or being touched with what we do for them. Some are done in hopes of considerable recompence, others without any such prospect. Tintoret was particularly remarkable for undertaking all sorts of business, and at all prices, and performed accordingly.

The nature of the works itself makes another variety in the hands of the masters. Parmegiano in his drawings appears to be a greater man than one sees him in his paintings, or etched prints. Polidore upon paper, or in Chairo Scuro is one of the foremost in the school of Raphael, but give him colours, and you remove him back many degrees. Battista Franco's drawings are exquisitely fine, his paintings contemptible; even Giulio Romano's pencil in oil has not the transcendent merit of his pen in drawings, this has a spirit, a beauty and delicacy inimitable, that is comparatively heavy and disagreeable for the most part, for I know of some exceptions. The subject also makes a vast difference in the works of these great men; Giulio Romano was fitter to paint the birth of the son of Saturn, than that of the Son of God; as Michael Angelo was better qualified to paint a Hercules, and Antèus, than the last judgment; but Parmegiano and Corregio, who were prodigies in all subjects that were lovely and angelical, would have been almost upon the level with common men in either of those other; a holy family of Raphael is as the work of an angel of the highest order, a slaughter of the innocents of him seems to be done by one of a lower.

It is no unusual thing for masters to go from one manner to another that they like better, whether to imitate some other masters or otherwise.

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Spagnoletto set out finely, imitating Corregio with great success; this good manner he forsook for that terrible one he is so well known by, and in which he continued to the last. Giacomo Pontormo, from a good Italian stile, fell to imitating Albert Durer; Giacinto Brandi left his first Caravaggio-manner, in which he was an excellent master, and applied himself to its direct opposite, that of Guido, in which not succeeding, he endeavoured to return to his former way of painting, but could never regain the ground he had lost. Even Guido himself, *animus meminisse horret!* for a time quitted his lovely angel: Aims of heads, enlightened with the gleams of paradise, for the debauched and savage oppositions of fierce lights and darks of Caravaggio, that then corrupted Rome; but he soon returned; his native purity purged off the black Tartareous cold infernal dregs. Besides this, one master imitates another occasionally, and copies their works or their stile, at least to try experiments, or to please themselves, or those that employ them, or perhaps sometimes to deceive, or for whatever other reasons.

In copying, though never so servilely, there will be such a mixture of the copier as to make what is done a different manner; but it is very apparently so when this is done by a master who cannot, or will not, so strictly confine himself. Sometimes such a one copies, as it were, but in part; that is, he takes the thought of another, but keeps to his own manner of executing it: This was frequently done by Raphael after the antique; Parmegiano and Battista Franco thus copied Raphael and Michael Angelo; and so Rubens copied Raphael, Titian, Pordonone, &c. of which I have many instances. In these cases the master will be

evidently seen; but, being mixed with the idea of other men, this compound work will be very different from one intirely his own.

In drawings one finds a great variety, from their being first thoughts (which often are very slight, but spirituous scrabbles) or more advanced or finished. So some are executed one way, some another; a pen, chalks, washes of all colours, heightened with white, wet, or dry, or not heightened at all, but the paper itself left to express the lights. All the masters have had the first kind of variety, though some more than others. There are few finished works of Titian, Bassano, Tintoretto, Baccio Bandinelli, Coregio, Annibale Caracci, and others; I mean few in proportion to the number of the drawings which we have of them; which indeed may be said of them all, though of those I have named more particularly; but of Rubens, Giuseppino, Paolo Farinato, Primaticcio, Michael Angelo, Lionardo da Vinci, many such are seen; Biaggio Bolognese rarely made any other. And of Parmegiano, Battista Franco, Pierino del Vaga, Polidore, Giulio Romano, Andrea del Sarto, and even of Raphael himself, one frequently sees finished drawings. As for the latter kind of variety, it is to be found chiefly in Raphael, Polidore, and Parmegiano; whereas Michael Angelo, Baccio Bandinelli, Biaggio Bolognese, Giulio Romano, Battista Franco, Paolo Farinato, Cangiagio, Passerotto, and the two Zuccaroes, kept generally to the same manner; and some of them are instantly known by it.

There are instances, lastly, of some whose manners have been changed by some unlucky circumstances. Poor Annibale Caracci! he sunk at once! his great spirit was subdued by the barbarous usage
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of cardinal Farnese, who for a work which will be one of the principal ornaments of Rome, so long as the palace of that name remains, which cost that vast genius many years incessant study and application; and which he had all possible reason to hope would have been rewarded in such a manner as to have made him easy the remainder of his life: For this work that infamous ecclesiastick paid him as if he had been an ordinary mechanick. After this he lived not long, painted but little, and that in no degree equal to what he had done before. It must be confessed that Annibale made himself cheap; and, in truth, other people will not esteem us more than we seem to do ourselves; if we stoop, they will lean upon us; and if we lie down they will tread upon us. An instance of the timidity and the utter poor-spiritedness of this great painter (but this only) and of the slight he put on his own works, by lavishing them to the most low and unworthy people, in Malvasia, p. 465, and in many other places.

Guido Reni, from a prince-like affluence of fortune (the just reward of his angelick works) fell to a condition like that of a hired servant to one who supplied him with money for what he painted at a fixed rate, and that, by his being bewitched with a passion for gaming, whereby he lost vast sums of money, and even what he got in this his state of servitude by day, he commonly lost at night; nor could he ever be cured of this cursed madness. Those of his works therefore which he produced in this unhappy part of his life may easily be conceived to be in a different stile from what he had done before, which in some things, that is, in the airs of the heads, had a delicacy in them

them peculiar to himself, and almost more than human. But I must not multiply instances. Parmegiano is one that alone takes in all the several kinds of variation; one sees, in his drawings, all the several manners of handling; pen, red chalk, black chalk, washing, with and without heightening; on all coloured papers, and in all the degrees of goodness, from the indifferent up to the sublime; I can produce evident proofs of my assertion in so easy a gradation, that one cannot deny but that he who performed that might also be the author of this, and very probably was so; and thus one may ascend and descend like the angels on Jacob's ladder, whose foot was upon the earth, but its head reached to heaven.

And this great man had also his unlucky circumstance; he became mad after the philosopher's stone, and smoaked away his whole time that he could have employed so gloriously, and with so much profit. Judge what that was, the alteration of stile from what he had done, before this devil possessed him. His creditors endeavoured to exorcise him, and did him some good, for he set himself to work again in his own way; and with success, as Vasari assures; but he lived not long afterwards; and what he painted whilst his thoughts were upon something else, and not only his chemistry but his poverty, to which that had brought him, had cramped and turned aside his genius, could not sure be equal to those lovely productions that flowed from love of his art, and ease in his affairs.

Thus it is evident, that to be good connoisseurs in judging of hands we must extend our thoughts to all the parts of the lives, and to all the circumstances of the masters; to the various kinds and degrees

degrees of goodness of their works, and not confine ourselves to one manner only, and a certain excellency found only in some things they have done, upon which some have formed their ideas of those extraordinary men, but very narrow and imperfect ones.

Great care must be taken as to the genuineness of the works on which we form our ideas of the masters; for abundance of things are attributed to them, chiefly to those that are most famous, which they never saw.

If two or more considerable masters resemble each other, the most considerable usually fathers the works of them both: A copy, or an imitation of a great man, or even the work of an obscure hand that has any similitude to his, is presently of him. Nay, pictures or drawings are frequently christened (as they call it) arbitrarily or ignorantly, as avarice, vanity, or caprice directs. I believe there are few collections without instances of these misnamed works, some that I have seen are notorious for it. Nor do I pretend that my own hath not some few on which I would not have the least dependance in forming an idea of the masters whose names they bear. They are as I found them, and may be rightly christened for ought I know; I leave the matter as doubtful, in hopes of future discoveries; but a name which I know, or believe to be wrong, I never suffer to remain, I either expunge it, and leave the work without any, or give it such as I am assured, or have probable arguments to believe is right.

It cannot be denied but that this is a considerable discouragement to one that is desirous to be a connoisseur, not much unlike that which is apt to perplex well-meaning people when they reflect upon
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the many contrary opinions pretended to be of divine authority. But as in that case there are certain fundamental, self-evident, or demonstrable principles, or such whose authority is sufficiently established by rational arguments, to which principles a man may always have recourse; and, by comparing doctrines pretended to be from God with these, be able to judge for himself of the truth of such pretences: So here there are certain pictures and drawings of several of the masters, chiefly of the most considerable ones, that even an early connoisseur will find at his first setting out, and always meet with in his way, that will serve him as safe and sufficient guides in this affair.

Such are those whose genuineness is abundantly established by history, tradition, and universal consent; as the works of Raphael in the Vatican, and at Hampton-Court; those of Coregio in the cupola at Parma; of Annibale Caracci in the Farnese gallery at Rome; of Vandyke in many families in England, and a great many more of these and other masters all over Europe.

The descriptions of works in Vafari, Cinelli, and other writers, or, still more, the prints extant of them, prove abundance of pictures and drawings to be genuine, supposing them not to be copies; which their excellency may be as certain a proof of to a good judge of that, and proportionably to one that is less advanced in that branch of science.

The general consent of connoisseurs is what I believe will be allowed to be sufficient to constitute a picture or a drawing to be a guide in this case.

Many masters have something so remarkable and peculiar, that their manner in general is soon known;

known; and the best in these kinds sufficiently appear to be genuine, so that a young connoisseur can be in no doubt concerning them.

Now, though some masters differ exceedingly from themselves, yet, in all, there is something of the same man; as in all the stages of our lives there is a general resemblance; the same features are seen in our old faces as we had in our youth; when we have fixed a few of the works of the masters as genuine, these will direct us in the discovery of others, with greater or less degrees of probability, as the similitude betwixt them and those already allowed to be genuine happens to be.

An idea of the most considerable masters who have had a great variety in them may be soon gotten, as to their most common manner and general character; which by seeing pictures and drawings, with care and observation, will be improved and enlarged perpetually.

And there are some masters who, when you have seen two or three of their works, will be known again easily, having had but very little variety in the manners, or something so peculiar throughout as to discover them immediately.

As for obscure masters, or those whose works are little known, it is impossible to have any just idea of them, and consequently to know to whom to attribute a work of their hands when we happen to meet them; but then it is also of little importance whether we do or not.

When we are at a loss, and know not to what hand to attribute a picture or drawing, it is of use to consider of what age and what school it probably is. This will reduce the inquiry into a narrow compass, and oftentimes lead us to the master we are seeking for. So that besides the history of
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the particular masters, which (as hath been seen already) is necessary to be known by every one who would be a connoisseur in hands; the general one of the art, and the characters of the several schools is so too. Of the first I have occasionally given some few touches throughout the present and foregoing part of this work: Of the other I shall make light sketches, referring you for the whole to the accounts at large in the authors who have professedly treated on those subjects.

He who would be a good connoisseur in hands must know how to distinguish clearly and readily, not only betwixt one object and another, but when two different ones nearly resemble; for this he will very often have occasion to do, as it is easy to observe by what hath been said already. But I shall have a further occasion to enlarge on this particular,

Lastly, To attain that branch of science of which I have been treating, a particular application to that very study is requisite. A man may be a good painter, and a good connoisseur as to the merit of a picture or drawing, and may have seen all the fine ones in the world, and not know any thing of this matter: It is a speculation intirely distinct from all these qualifications, and requires a turn of thought accordingly.

ORIGINALS AND COPIES.

ALL that is done in picture is done by invention, or from the life, or from another picture; or, lastly, it is a composition of one or more of these.

The term picture I here understand at large as signifying a painting, drawing, engraving, &c.

Perhaps nothing that is done is properly and strictly invention, but derived from something already seen, though sometimes compounded and jumbled into forms which nature never produced; these images laid up in our minds are the patterns by which we work when we do what is said to be done by invention; just as when we follow nature before our eyes; the only difference being that in the latter case, these ideas are fresh taken in, and immediately made use of, in the other they have been repositied there, and are less clear and lively.

So that is said to be done by the life which is done, the object intended to be represented being set before us, though we neither follow it intirely, nor intend so to do; but add or retrench by the help of preconceived ideas of a beauty and perfection we imagine nature is capable of, though rarely or never found.

We say a picture is done by the life as well when the object represented is a thing inanimate, as when it is an animal; and the work of art as well as nature; but then for distinction the term still-life is made use of as occasion requires.

A copy is the repetition of a work already done when the artist endeavours to follow that; as he
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that works by invention, or the life, endeavouring to copy nature, seen or conceived, makes an original.

Thus, not only that is an original painting that is done by invention, or the life immediately; but that is so too which is done by a drawing or sketch so done; that drawing or sketch not being ultimately intended to be followed, but used only as a help towards the better imitation of nature, whether present or absent.

And though this drawing or sketch is thus used by another hand than that by which it is made, what is so done cannot be said to be a copy; the thought indeed is partly borrowed, but the work is original.

For the same reason if a picture be made after another, and afterwards gone over by invention, or the life, not following that, but endeavouring to improve upon it, it thus becomes an original.

But if a picture or drawing be copied, and the manner of handling be imitated, though with some liberty, so as not to follow every stroke and touch, it ceases not to be a copy; as that is truly a translation where the sense is kept, though it be not exactly literal.

If a larger picture be copied though in little, and what was done in oil is imitated with water-colours, or crayons, that first picture being only endeavoured to be followed as close as possible with those materials, and in those dimensions; this is to be esteemed a copy, just as if it were done as large, and in the same manner as the original.

There are some pictures and drawings which are neither copies nor originals, as being partly one, and partly the other. If in a history, or large
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composition, or even a single figure, a face or more is inserted, copied from what has been done from the life, such picture is not intirely original. Neither is that so, nor intirely copy, where the whole thought is taken, but the manner of the copier used as to the colouring and handling. A copy retouched in some places by invention, or the life, is of this equivocal kind. I have several drawings first copied after old masters (Giulio Romano for example) and then heightened and endeavoured to be improved by Rubens; so far as his hand hath gone is therefore original, the rest remains pure copy. But when he has thus wrought upon original drawings (of which I have also many instances) the drawing loses not its first denomination, it is an original still, made by two several masters.

The ideas of better and worse are generally attached to the terms original and copy, and this with good reason; not only because copies are usually made by inferior hands, but because tho' he who makes the copy is as good or even a better master than he who made the original, whatever may happen rarely and by accident, ordinarily the copy will fall short; our hands cannot reach what our minds have conceived; it is God alone whose works answer to his ideas. In making an original our ideas are taken from nature, which the works of art cannot equal; when we copy, they are these defective works of art from which we take our ideas; these are the utmost we endeavour to arrive at; and these lower ideas too our hands fail of executing perfectly; an original is the echo of the voice of nature, a copy is the echo of that echo. Moreover, though the master that copies be equal in general to him whose work he follows, yet, in

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the particular manner of that master he is to imitate, he may not: Vandyke (for example) might have as fine a pencil as Titian; Parmegiano might handle a pen or chalk as well as Raphael; but Vandyke was not so excellent in the manner of Titian; nor Parmegiano in that of Raphael, as they themselves were. Lastly, in making an original we have a vast latitude as to the handling, colouring, drawing, expression, &c. in copying we are confined; consequently a copy cannot have the freedom and spirit of an original; so that tho' the master who made the original, copies his own work, it cannot be expected it should be as well.

But though it be generally true that a copy is inferior to an original, it may so happen that it may be better; as when the copy is done by a much better hand; whether as to his general character, or in some particulars, whereby some defects may be avoided, and improvements made, though not throughout. An excellent master can no more sink down to the badness of some works, than the author of such can rise to the other's excellence. A copy of a very good picture is preferable to an indifferent original; for there the invention is seen almost intire, and a great deal of the expression and disposition, and many times good hints of the colouring, drawing, and other qualities. An indifferent original hath nothing that is excellent, nothing that touches, which such a copy I am speaking of hath, and this in proportion to its goodness as a copy.

When we consider a picture or a drawing, and the question is, Whether it is a copy or an original? the state of that question will be,

First, In those very terms.

Secondly, Is this of such a hand, or after him?

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Is such a work, seen to be of such a master, originally of him, or a copy after some other?

And, lastly, Is it done by this master from the life, or invention? or copied after some other picture of his own?

In the first of these cases, neither the hand nor the idea is known: In the second, the idea is supposed to be so, but not the hand: In the third, the hand is known, but not the idea: And in the last, both the hand and the idea are known, but not whether it is original or copy.

There are certain arguments made use of in determining upon one, or more of these questions, which are to be rejected: If there are two pictures of the same subject, the same number of figures, the same attitudes, colours, &c. it will by no means follow that one is a copy, unless in the latter sense, just now mentioned; for the masters have frequently repeated their works, either to please themselves or other people, who seeing and liking one, have desired another like it. Some have fancied the great masters made no finished drawings, as not having time or patience sufficient, and therefore pronounce all such to be copies; I will not oppose this false reasoning by something in the same way, though I might; I hate arguments *ad hominem*, because if I dispute, it is not for victory but truth; but let the drawing have the other good properties of an original, those will be arguments in its favour, which the finishing cannot overthrow, or so much as weaken. Nor will the numbers of drawings which we have here in England, which are attributed to Raphael, or any other master, be any argument not only against the originality of any one of them in par-

ticular (for this for certain it cannot be) no, nor even that some of them must be copies. That these great men * made vast numbers of drawings is certain, and oftentimes many for the same work; and that they are hardly to be found in Italy is nothing to the purpose; the riches of England, Holland, France, and other countries of Europe, may well be supposed to have drawn away by much the greatest number of what curiosities could be removed. But I have no inclination to dwell upon such a poor and low way of arguing, and so unworthy of a connoisseur; let us judge from the things themselves, and what we see and know, and thus only:

I. There are some pictures and drawings which are seen to be originals, though the hand and manner of thinking are neither of them known, and that by the spirit and freedom of them; which sometimes appears to such a degree, as to assure us it is impossible they should be copies. But we cannot say, on the contrary, when we see a tame, heavy handling, that the work is not original merely upon that account, because there have been many bad originals, and some good masters have fallen into a feebleness of hand, especially in their old age.

Sometimes there appears such a nature, together with so much liberty, that this is a further evidence of the originality of such works.

There is another, and a more masterly way of judging, and that is, by comparing the unknown hand, and manner of thinking one with another. The invention and disposition of the parts in a

* Witness Carlo Maratti, of whom a friend of my father's had seen an entire book of three hundred from the head alone of the Antinoüs. See above in his Theory, p. 110.

copy, and some of the expression always remains, and are the same as in the original; let these be compared with the airs of the heads, the grace and greatness, the drawing and handling; if these be all of a piece, and such as we can believe all may be the work of the same person, it is probable that this is an original, at least we cannot pronounce it to be otherwise. But if we see a wise and learned invention, a judicious disposition, but want of harmony; graceful and noble actions, but ill performed; silly airs of heads, bad drawing, a low taste of colouring, and a timorous or heavy hand; this we may be assured is a copy, in a degree proportionable to the difference we see in the head and hand that contributed to the production of this motley performance.

II. To know whether a picture or drawing be of the hand of such a master, or after him, one must be so well acquainted with the hand of that master as to be able to distinguish what is genuine, from what is not so; the best counterfeiter of hands cannot do it so well as to deceive a good connoisseur; the handling, the colouring, the drawing, the airs of heads, some, nay all of these, discover the imposture; more or less easily however as the manner of the master happens to be; what is highly finished (for example) is more easily imitated than what is loose and free.

It is impossible for any one to transform himself immediately, and become exactly another man; a hand that hath been always moving in a certain manner, cannot at once, or by a few occasional essays, get into a different kind of motion, and be as perfect at it as he that practises it continually: It is the same in colouring and drawing; they are as impossible to be counterfeited as the handling:

Every man will naturally and unavoidably mix something of himself in all he does, if he copies with any degree of liberty: If he attempts to follow his original servilely and exactly, that cannot but have a stiffness which will easily distinguish what is so done from what is performed naturally, easily, and without restraint.

I have perhaps one of the greatest curiosities of this kind that can be seen, because I have both the copy and the original; both are of great masters; the copier was moreover the disciple of him he endeavoured to imitate, and had accustomed himself to do so, for I have several instances of this, which I am very certain of, though I have not seen the originals. Michael Angelo made that I am now speaking of, and which I joyfully purchased lately of one who had just brought it from abroad; it is a drawing with a pen upon a large half sheet, and consists of three standing figures: The copy is of Battista Franco, and which I have had several years, and always judged it to be what I now find it is. It is an amazing thing to see how exactly the measures are followed, for it does not appear to have been done by any other help than the correctness of the eye; if it had been traced off, or measured throughout, it is as strange that the liberty should be preserved that is seen in it; Battista has also been exact in following every stroke, even what is purely accidental, and without any meaning; so that one would think he endeavoured to make as just a copy as possible, both as to the freedom and exactness. But himself is seen throughout most apparently: As great a master as he was, he could no more counterfeit the vigorous, blunt pen of Michael Angelo, and that
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terrible fire that is always seen in him, than he could have managed the club of Hercules.

I am well aware of the objection that will be made to what I am saying, founded upon the instances of copies that have deceived very good painters who judged them to be of the hands they were only counterfeits of, and even when these hands have been their own: To which I answer,

First, A man may be a very good painter and not a good connoisseur in this particular. To know and distinguish hands, and to be able to make a good picture, are very different qualifications, and require a very different turn of thought, and both a particular application.

Secondly, It is probable those that have been thus mistaken have been too precipitate in giving their judgments; and not having any doubt upon the matter have pronounced without much examination.

Lastly, Admitting it to be true, that there have been instances of copies of this kind not possible to be detected by the ablest connoisseurs (which however I do not believe) yet this must needs happen so very rarely that the general rule will however subsist.

III. The next question to be spoken to, is, Whether a work seen to be of such a master is originally of him, or a copy after some other?

And here the first enquiry will be, Whether as we see the hand of such master in the picture, or drawing before us, his idea is also in it: And if it be judged, the thought is not originally of him, we must further enquire, whether he who did the work under consideration endeavoured to follow that other master as well as he could, so as to make what he did, properly, a copy; or took

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such a liberty as that his work thereby becomes an original.

This mixture, the hand of one, and the idea of another, is very frequently seen in the works of some of the greatest masters. Raphael hath much of the antique in his, not only imitations, but copies. Parmegiano, and Battista Franco drew after Raphael, and Michael Angelo; and the latter made abundance of drawings from the antique, having had an intention to etch a book of that kind. Rubens drew very much from other masters, especially from Raphael; almost all that Biaggio Bolognese did was borrowed from Raphael, or Parmegiano, or imitations of their way of thinking. But this mixture is rarely, or never seen in Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Corregio, and others: Giulio Romano, and much more Polidore, had so imbibed the taste of the ancients, as to think much in their way, though easily to be distinguished however. It would be too tedious to be more particular; those who acquaint themselves thoroughly with the works of these great men will furnish themselves with observations of this kind sufficient for their purpose: And this he who would judge in the present case must do; for it is obvious, the only way to know whether the ideas and the hand are of the same master, is, by being thoroughly versed in the hands and ideas of the masters. And then to know, whether the work ought to be considered as an original or not, he must clearly conceive what are the just definitions of a copy, and an original, as distinguished from each other.

IV. Copies made by a master after his own work are discoverable by being well acquainted with what that master did when he followed nature;

ture; these shall have a spirit, a freedom, a naturalness which even he himself cannot put into what he copies from his own work; as hath been noted already.

As for prints, though what I have been saying not only in the present, but precedent chapters, is for the most part applicable to them as well as to pictures and drawings, (which I have all along had almost wholly in my mind,) yet there being something peculiar to these I have chose to reserve what I had to say concerning them in particular to this place.

Prints, whether engraved in metal or wood, etched or in mezzotinto, are a sort of works done in such a manner as is not so proper as that whereby paintings or drawings are performed; it not being possible by this to make any thing so excellent as in the others. But this way of working is chosen upon other accounts, such as that thereby great numbers are produced instead of one, so that the thing comes into many hands; and that at an easy price.

Of prints there are two kinds; such as are done by the masters themselves whose invention the work is; and such as are done by men not pretending to invent, but only to copy (in their several ways) other mens works.

The latter sort of prints are always professed copies, with respect to the invention, composition, manner of designing, grace and greatness. But these prints may be also copied, as they frequently are; and, to know what are so, and what are originals, is by being well acquainted with the hands of the engraver or etcher, who in this respect are the masters, as the painter from whom they copied were to them.

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The former sort may again be subdivided into three kinds. 1. Those they have done after a painting of their own. 2. Those done after a drawing also done by themselves; or, lastly, what is designed upon the plate, which hath been sometimes done, especially in etching. The first of these are copies after their own works; and so may the second, or they may not, according as the drawing they have made previously to it happens to be; but both are so but in part; what is thus done being a different way of working. But if it be designed on the plate, it is a kind of drawing (as the others are) though in a manner different from the rest, and is purely and properly original.

And the hands of the masters are to be known in this way as in all others, and so what are genuine, and what are copies, and how far.

The excellence of a print, as of a drawing, consists not particularly in the handling; this is but one, and even one of the least considerable parts of it: It is the invention, the grace and greatness, and those principal parts that in the first place are to be regarded. There is better engraving, a finer burin in many worthless prints than in those of Marc Antonio, but those of this last that come after Raphael are generally more esteemed than even those which are engraved by the masters themselves; though the expression, the grace and greatness, and other properties wherein that inimitable man so much excelled all mankind, appear to be but faintly marked if compared with what Raphael himself hath done; yet even that shadow of him hath beauties that touch the soul beyond what the best original works of most of the other masters, though very considerable ones, can do: And this must be said too, that though Marc Antonio's

Antonio's engravings come far short of what Raphael himself did, all others that have made prints after Raphael come vastly short of him, because he has better imitated what is most excellent in that beloved, wonderful man than any other has done.

The prints etched by the masters themselves; such as those of Parmegiano, Annibale Caracci, and Guido Reni, (who are the chief of those of whom we have works of this kind) are considerable upon the same account; not for the handling, but the spirit, the expression, the drawing, and other the most excellent properties of a picture or drawing; though, by the nature of the work, they are not equal to what these same masters have executed with their pencil, chalk, or pen.

And it is further to be observed, that as prints cannot be so good as drawings, they abate in the goodness they have by the wearing of the plates; they thus become to have less beauty, less spirit, the expression hath less energy, the airs of the heads are tamer, and the whole is the worse in proportion as the plate is worn: unless it be too hard at first, and then those prints are the better that are taken after that hardness is something worn off.

It were much to be wished that all who have applied themselves to the copying of other mens works by prints (of what kind soever) had more studied to become masters in those branches of science which are necessary to a painter (except what are peculiar to them as such) than they have generally done; their works would then have been much more desirable than they are. Some few indeed have done this, and their prints are esteemed accordingly.

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To conclude ; it must be observed to the advantage of prints as compared with drawings ; though they are by no means equal to them upon other accounts (as has been already noted) they are usually done from the finished works of the masters, and so are their last, their utmost thoughts on the subject, whatever it be. So much for prints.

There is one qualification absolutely necessary to him that would know hands, and distinguish copies from originals ; as it also is so to him who would judge well of the goodness of a picture or drawing, or indeed of any thing else whatsoever, and with which therefore I will finish this discourse ; and that is, he must accustom himself to take in, retain, and manage clear and distinct ideas.

To be able to distinguish betwixt two things of a different species (especially if those are very much unlike) is what the most stupid creature is capable of, as to say this is an oak, and that a willow ; but to come into a forest of a thousand oaks, and to know how to distinguish any one leaf of all those trees from any other whatsoever, and to form so clear an idea of that one, and to retain it so clean as (if occasion be) to know it so long as its characteristicks remain, requires better faculties than every one is master of ; and yet this may certainly be done. To see the difference between a fine metaphysical notion, and a dull jest ; or between a demonstration, and an argument but just probable ; these are things which he who cannot do is rather a brute, than a rational creature ; but to discern wherein the difference consists when two notions very nearly resemble each other, but are not the same ; or to see the just weight of an argument, and that through all
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its artificial disguises; to do this it is necessary to conceive, distinguish, methodize, and compare ideas in a manner that few of all those multitudes that pretend to reasoning have accustomed themselves to. But thus to see, thus nicely to distinguish things nearly resembling one another, whether visible, or immaterial, is the business of a connoisseur. It is for want of this distinguishing faculty that some whom I have known, and from whom one might reasonably have expected better, have blundered as grossly as if they had mistaken a Coregio for a Rembrandt; or (to speak more intelligibly to those who are not well acquainted with these things) an apple, for an oyster: But lesser mistakes have been made perpetually, when the difference between the two manners, that which we saw before us, and that which it was judged to be, whether as to the master's way of thinking, or of executing his thoughts, was nevertheless very easily discernible.

It is as necessary to a connoisseur as to a philosopher or divine, to be a nice logician; the same faculties are employed, and in the same manner, the difference is only in the subject.

1. He must never undertake to make any judgment without having in his mind certain determined ideas, he must not think, or talk at random, and when he is not clear in the thing; as those gentlemen Mr. Locke speaks of somewhere, who were disputing warmly upon a certain liquor in the body, and might probably never have come to any conclusion if he had not put them upon settling the meaning of that term liquor; they talked all the while in the clouds.

2. A good connoisseur will take care not to confound things in which there is a real difference,
because

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because of the resemblance they may seem to have. This he has perpetual occasion to be upon his guard against, for many times the hands and manners of different masters very nearly resemble each other.

3. He must not make a difference where there is none, and so attribute those works to two several masters which were both done by the same hand.

4. A connoisseur having fixed his ideas should keep close to them, and not flutter about in confusion from one to another.

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PLEASURE AND ADVANTAGE,
OF THE
SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

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SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

IT is remarkable, that in a country as ours,  rich and abounding with gentlemen of a just and delicate taste in musick, poetry, and all kinds of literature; such fine writers! such solid reasoners! such able statesmen! gallant soldiers! excellent divines, lawyers, physicians, mathematicians, and mechanicks! and yet so few, so very few lovers and connoisseurs in painting!

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In most of these particulars there is no nation under heaven which we do not excel; in some of the principal, most of them are barbarous compared with us; since the best times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, when this art was in its greatest esteem and perfection, such a national magnanimity as seems to be the characteristic of our nation has been lost in the world; and yet the love and knowledge of painting, and what has relation to it, bears no proportion to what is to be found, not only in Italy, where they are all lovers, and almost all connoisseurs, but in France, Holland, and Flanders.

Every event in the natural and moral world hath its causes, which are caused by other causes, and so on up to the first cause, the immutable and unerring will, without which not so inconsiderable an accident (as it will be called) as the falling of a sparrow, or the change of the colour of a single hair, can happen; so that there is nothing strange: What is commonly the subject of admiration is so for no other reason but that we do not see its causes, nor remember it must needs have had such, and which must as infallibly operate in that manner as those we see, and which are most ordinary and familiar to us. That so few here in England have considered
that

that to be a good connoisseur is fit to be part of the education of a gentleman, that there are so few lovers of painting; not merely for furniture, or for ostentation, or as it represents their friends or themselves; but as it is an art capable of entertaining and adorning their minds as much as, nay perhaps more, than any other whatsoever; this event also has its causes; to remove which, and consequently their effects, and to procure the contrary good, is what I am about to endeavour, and hope in some measure to accomplish.

Nor is this a trivial undertaking; I have already been giving the principles of it, and here I recommend a new science to the world, or one at least little known, or considered as such: So new, or so little known, that it is yet without a name; it may have one in time; till then I must be excused when I call it, as I do, **THE SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR**, for want of a better way of expressing myself: I open to gentlemen a new scene of pleasure, a new innocent amusement, and an accomplishment which they have yet scarce heard of, but no less worthy of their attention than most of those they have been accustomed to acquire. I offer to my country a scheme by which its reputation, riches, virtue and power may be increased. And this I will endeavour

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to

to do, not as an orator, or as an advocate, but as a strict reasoner; and so as I am verily persuaded will be to the conviction of every one that will impartially attend to the argument, and not be prejudiced by the novelty of it, or their own former sentiments.

My present business then in short is, to endeavour to persuade our nobility and gentry to become lovers of painting and connoisseurs; which I shall attempt to do, by shewing the dignity, certainty, pleasure and advantage of that science.

One of the principal causes of the general neglect of the science I am treating of, I take to be, that very few gentlemen have a just idea of painting; it is commonly taken to be an art whereby nature is to be represented; a fine piece of workmanship, and difficult to be performed, but produces only pleasant ornaments, mere superfluities.

This being all they expect from it, no wonder they look no farther; and, not having applied themselves to things of this nature, overlook beauties which they do not expect to find; so that many an excellent picture is passed over and disregarded, and an indifferent or a bad one admired, and this upon low and
even

even trivial considerations; from whence arises naturally an indifference, if not a contempt for the art, at best a degree of esteem not very considerable; especially since there are (comparatively) so few pictures in which are to be found either nature closely represented, or beauty, or even fine workmanship.

Though I have already in the beginning of the Theory of Painting, and indeed throughout this work, endeavoured to give the world a just idea of the art, I will in this place more particularly attempt it, as being very pertinent to my present design; and perhaps it may be some advantage (as we find it is to pictures) to place it in several lights.

Painting is indeed a difficult art, productive of curious pieces of workmanship, and greatly ornamental; and its business is to represent nature. Thus far the common idea is just; only that it is more difficult, more curious, and more beautiful, than is commonly imagined.

It is an entertaining thing to the mind of man to see a fine piece of art in any kind; and every one is apt to take a sort of pride in it as being done by one of his own species, to whom, with respect to the universe, he

stands related as to one of the same country, or the same family. Painting affords us a great variety of this kind of pleasure in the delicate or bold management of the pencil; in the mixture of its colours, in the skilful contrivance of the several parts of the picture, and infinite variety of the tincts, so as to produce beauty and harmony. This alone gives great pleasure * to those who have learned to see these things. To see nature justly represented is very delightful; it gives us pleasing ideas, and perpetuates and renews them; pleasing, whether by their novelty or variety, or by the consideration of † our own ease and safety, when we see what is terrible in themselves, as storms and tempests, battles, murders, robberies; or else when the subject is fruit, flowers, landscapes, buildings, histories; and, above all, ourselves, relations, or friends.

Thus far the common idea of painting goes; and this would be enough if these beauties were seen and considered as they are to be found

* *Nos etiam eruditos habemus oculos.*—CIC. ad ATTIC.

† *Suave mari magno turbantibus aquora ventis
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quenquam est jocunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.*

LUCRET.

in the works of the best masters, whether in paintings or drawings, to recommend the art. But this is such an idea of it as it would be of a man to say, he has a graceful and noble form, and performs many bodily actions with great strength and agility, without taking his speech and his reason into the account.

The great and chief ends of painting are to raise and improve nature; and to communicate ideas; not only those which we may receive otherwise, but such as without this art could not possibly be communicated; whereby mankind is advanced higher in the rational state, and made better; and that in a way easy, expeditious, and delightful.

The business of painting is not only to represent nature, and to make the best choice of it, but to raise and improve it from what is commonly or even rarely seen, to what never was, or will be in fact, though we may easily conceive it might be. As in a good portrait, from whence we conceive a better opinion of the beauty, good sense, breeding, and other good qualities of the person than from seeing themselves, and yet without being able to say in what particular it is unlike; for nature must be ever in view,

Unerring nature still divinely bright,
 One clear, unchang'd, and universal light;
 Life, force, and beauty must to all impart,
 At once the source, and end, and test of art;
 That art is best which most resembles her,
 Which still presides, yet never does appear.
 POPE'S Essay on Criticism.

I believe there never was such a race of men upon the face of the earth, never did men look and act like those we see represented in the works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Coregio, Parmegiano, and others of the best masters, yet nature appears throughout; we rarely or never see such landscapes as those of Titian, Annibale Carracci, Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorrain, Jasper Pouffin, and Rubens. Such buildings and magnificence as in the pictures of Paulo Veronese; but yet there is nothing but what we can believe may be. Our ideas even of fruits, flowers, insects, draperies, and indeed of all visible things, and of some that are invisible, or creatures of the imagination, are raised and improved in the hands of a good painter; and the mind is thereby filled with the noblest, and therefore the most delightful images. The description of one in an advertisement of a news-paper is nature, so is a character by my Lord Clarendon, but they are nature very differently represented.

I own

I own there are beauties in nature which we cannot reach; chiefly in colours, together with a certain spirit, vivacity, and lightness; motion alone is a vast advantage; it occasions a great degree of beauty purely from that instant variety it produceth; so that what I have said elsewhere is true, it is impossible to reach nature by art; but this is not inconsistent with what I have been saying just now; both are true in different senses. Some things in nature are immutable; others art can improve upon, and those very considerable ones.

When I say nature is to be raised and improved by painting, it must be understood that the actions of men must be represented better than probably they really were, as well as that their persons must appear to be nobler, and more beautiful than is ordinarily seen. In treating a history, a painter has other rules to go by than a historian, whereby he is as much obliged to embellish his subject, as the other is to relate it justly; for painting is poetry.

Not only such ideas are conveyed to us by the help of this art as merely give us pleasure, but such as enlighten the understanding, and put the soul in motion. From hence are learned the forms and properties of things and persons; we are thus informed of past events; by this means

means joy, grief, hope, fear, love, aversion, and the other passions, and affections of the soul are excited, and above all we are not only thus instructed, greatly instructed may be, and this with equal delight; other means of instruction are often rude and offensive; this, whilst it informs, polisheth the mind.

Painting is another sort of writing, and is subservient to the same ends as that of her younger sister; that by characters can communicate some ideas which the hieroglyphic kind cannot, as this, in other respects, supplies its defects.

And the ideas thus conveyed to us have this advantage, they come not by a slow progression of words, or in a language peculiar to one nation only; but with such a velocity, and in a manner so universally understood, that it is something like intuition, or inspiration; as the art by which it is effected resembles creation; things so considerable, and of so great a price, being produced out of materials so inconsiderable, of a value next to nothing!

What a tedious thing would it be to describe by words the view of a country (that from Greenwich-hill for instance) and how imperfect an idea must we receive from thence! Painting
shews

shews the thing immediately and exactly. No words can give you a satisfactory idea of the face and person of one you have never seen; Painting does it effectually; with the addition of so much of his character as can be known from thence; and moreover in an instant recalls to your memory, at least the most considerable particulars of what you have heard concerning him, or occasions that to be told which you have never heard.

* “ Agostino Carracci, discoursing one day
 “ of the excellency of the ancient sculpture,
 “ was profuse in his praises of the Laocoon,
 “ and observing his brother Annibale neither
 “ spoke, nor seemed to take any notice of what
 “ he said, reproached him as not enough esteem-
 “ ing so stupendous a work : He then went on
 “ describing every particular in that noble re-
 “ main of antiquity. Annibale turned himself
 “ to the wall, and with a piece of charcoal
 “ drew the statue as exactly as if it had been
 “ before him; the rest of the company were
 “ surprized, and Agostino was silenced; con-
 “ fessing his brother had taken a more effectual
 “ way to demonstrate the beauties of that won-
 “ derful piece of sculpture; *li poeti dipingono*
 “ *con le parole, li pittori parlano con l'opere,*
 “ said Annibale.”

* Bellori's life of Annibale Carracci.

When

When Marius, being driven from Rome by Sylla, was prisoner at Minturnæ, and a soldier was sent to murder him, upon his coming into the room with his sword drawn for that purpose, Marius said aloud Σὺ δὴ τολμᾷς ἀνθρώπῳ Γαίῳ Μάρκῳ ἀναισῆναι! Darest thou, man, kill Caius Marius! which so terrified the ruffian, that he retired without being able to effect what he came about. This story, and all that Plutarch has wrote concerning him, gives me not a greater idea of him than one glance of the eye upon his statue that I have seen; it is in the noble collection of antiques at my lord Lemster's seat, at Torcester in Northamptonshire. The Odyssey cannot give me a greater idea of Ulysses than a drawing I have of Polidore, where he is discovering himself to Penelope and Telemachus by bending the bow. And I conceive as highly of St. Paul, by once walking through the gallery of Raphael at Hampton Court, as by reading the whole book of the Acts of the Apostles *, though written by divine inspiration. So that not only painting furnishes us with ideas, but it carries that matter farther than any other way whatsoever.

* Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, & quæ
Ipse sibi tradit spectator. HOR. A. P.

The business of history is a plain and just relation of facts; it is to be an exact picture of human nature.

Poetry is not thus confined, but, provided natural truth is at the bottom, nature must be heightened and improved, and the imagination filled with finer images than the eye commonly sees, or in some cases ever can; whereby the passions are more strongly touched, and with a greater degree of pleasure than by plain history.

When painters are to be rallied upon account of the liberties they take of inventing, Horace's *Pictoribus atque Poetis* never fails. Let them own the charge; but then the parallel must be understood to consist in such a departure from truth as is probable, and such as pleases and improves, but deceives nobody.

The poets have peopled the air, earth, and water with angels, flying boys, nymphs and satyrs; they have imagined what is done in heaven, earth, and hell, as well as on this globe, and which could never be known historically; their very language, as well as their measures and rhimes, must be above what is in common use. The opera has carried this matter
still

still farther, but so far as that, being beyond probability, it touches not as tragedy does; it ceases to be poetry, and sometimes degenerates into mere shew and sound; if the passions are affected, it is from thence, though the words were not only heard distinctly, but understood. By the way, let it be placed in this light; let the opera be considered as shew and musick, one of the instruments being a human voice, the common objection to its being in an unknown tongue falls to the ground.

As the poets, so the painters have stored our imaginations with beings and actions that never were; they have given us the finest natural and historical images, and this, for the same end, to please, whilst they instruct and make men better. I am not disposed to carry on the parallel, by descending to particulars, nor is it my present business: Mr. Dryden hath * done it, though it were to be wished he had been in less haste, and had understood painting better when his fine pen was so employed.

Sculpture carries us yet farther than poetry, and gives us ideas that no words can give; such forms of things, such airs of heads, such ex-

* In his Preface to Fresnoy's Poem de Arte Graphicâ.

expres-

pressions of the passions as cannot be described by language.

It hath been much disputed, which is the most excellent of the two arts, sculpture or painting; and there is a story of its having been left to the determination of a blind man, who gave it in favour of the latter, being told that what by feeling seemed to him to be flat, appeared to the eye as round as its competitor. I am not satisfied with this way of deciding the controversy. For it is not the difficulty of an art that makes it preferable, but the ends proposed to be served by it, and the degree in which it does that, and then the less difficulty the better.

Now the great ends of both these arts is to give pleasure, and to convey ideas, and that of the two which best answers those ends is undoubtedly preferable; and that this is painting is evident, since it gives us as great a degree of pleasure, and all the idea that sculpture can, with the addition of others; and this not only by the help of her colours; but because she can express many things which marble, brass, or other materials of that art cannot, or are not so proper for. A statue indeed is seen all round, and this is one great advantage which is alledged in favour of sculpture, but without reason: If the figure is seen on every side, it is also wrought
on

on every side, it is then to be considered as so many several pictures; and a hundred views of a figure may be painted in the time that that figure is cut in marble, or cast in brass.

As the business of painting is to raise and improve nature, it answers to poetry; (though upon occasion it can also be strictly historical) and as it serves to the other more noble end, this hieroglyphic language completes what words or writing began, and sculpture carried on, and thus perfects all that human nature is capable of in the communication of ideas, till we arrive at a more angelical and spiritual state in another world.

I believe it will not be unacceptable to my readers, if I illustrate what I have been saying by examples, and the rather because they are very curious, and very little known.

Vallani * in his Florentine history says, that in the year 1288, there were great divisions in the city of Pisa, for the sovereignty; one of the parties was headed by the judge Nino di Gallura de 'Visconti; the chief of another party was count Ugolino de 'Gherardeschi; and the archbishop Ruggieri of the family of the

* Lib. VI. c. 120, 127.

Ubal dini

Ubalдини was at the head of the third party, in which were also the Lanfranchi, the Sigifmondi, the Gualandi, and others; the two first of these parties were Guelfs, the other Ghibelines, (factions that at that time, and for many years before, and after, made dismal havock in Italy.) Count Ugolino, to get the power into his own hands, caballed secretly with the archbishop to ruin the judge, who never suspected that, he being a Guelf as the count was, and moreover his near relation; however the thing was effected; the judge and his followers were driven out of Pisa, and thereupon went to the Florentines, and stirred them up to make war upon the Pisans; these in the mean time submitted themselves to the count, who thus became lord of Pisa. But the number of the Guelfs being diminished by the departure of the judge and his followers; and that faction growing daily weaker and weaker, the archbishop laid hold of the opportunity, and betrayed the victor in his turn; he put it into the heads of the populace, that the count intended to give up their castles to their enemies the Florentines and Luccheses: This was easily swallowed; the mob suddenly rose, and ran with great fury to the palace, which they soon gained with little loss of blood; their new sovereign they clapt up in a prison, together

gether with his two sons, and two grandsons; and drove all the rest of his family and followers, and in general all the Guelfs out of the city. A few months after this the Pisans being become deeply engaged in the intestine war of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and having chose count Guido de Montifeltro for their general, the pope excommunicated them and him, and all his family; this incensed them the more against count Ugolino, so that having seen the gates of the prison well secured, they flung the keys into the river Arno, to the end that none might relieve him and his children with food; who therefore in a few days perished by famine. This farther circumstance of cruelty was exercised on the count; he was denied either priest or monk to confess him, though he begged it of his enemies with bitter cries.

The poet carries this story farther than the historian could, by relating what passed in the prison. This is Dante, who was a young man when this happened, and was ruined by the commotions of these times. He was of Florence, which city after having been long divided by the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, at last became intirely Guelf; but this party then split into others under the names of the Bianchi and the Neri, the latter of which prevailing, plundered, and banished Dante; not be-
cause

cause he was of the contrary party, but for being neuter, and a friend to his country.

When virtue fails, and party-heats endure,
The post of honour is the least secure.

This great man (in the 33d canto of the 1st part of his *Comedia*) in his passage through hell, introduces count Ugolino gnawing the head of this treacherous and cruel enemy the archbishop, and telling his own sad story, at the appearance of Dante.

*La bocca solleuò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, &c.*

He from the horrid food his mouth withdrew,
And wiping with the clotted offal hair
His shudd'ring lips, raising his head thus spake.

You will compel me to renew my grief
Which e're I speak oppresses my sad heart ;
But if I infamy accumulate
On him whose head I gnaw, I'll not forbear
To speak, tho' tears flow faster than my words.

I know not who you are, nor by what power,
Whether of saints or devils, you hither came,
But by your speech you seem a Florentine ;
Know then that I count Ugolino am,
Archbishop Ruggieri this ; which known,
That I by him betray'd was put to death,
Is needless to relate, you sure have heard ;

But what must be unknown to mortal men,
 The cruel circumstances of my death,
 These I will tell; which dreadful secret known,
 You will conceive how just is my revenge.

The ancient tow'r in which I was confin'd,
 And which is now the tow'r of Famine call'd,
 Had in her sides some symptoms of decay;
 Through these I saw the first approach of morn,
 After a restless night, the first I slept
 A prisoner in its walls; unquiet dreams
 Oppress'd my lab'ring brain. I saw this man
 Hunting a wolf, and her four little whelps
 Upon that ridge of mountains which divides
 The Pisan lands from those which Lucca claims;
 With meagre, hungry dogs the chase was made,
 Nor long continued, quick they seiz'd the prey,
 And tore their bowels with remorseless teeth.

Soon as my broken slumbers fled, I heard
 My sons (who also were confin'd with me)
 Cry in their troubled sleep, and ask for bread;
 O you are cruel if you do not weep,
 Thinking on that which now you well perceive
 My heart divin'd; if this provoke not tears,
 At what are you accustomed to weep?

The hour was come when food should have been
 brought,
 Instead of that, O God! I heard the noise
 Of creaking locks and bolts, with doubled force
 Securing our destruction. I beheld
 The faces of my sons with troubled eyes;
 I look'd on them, but utter'd not a word;

Nor

Nor could I weep; they wept; Anselmo said,
 (My little dear Anselmo) what's the matter,
 Father, why look you so? I wept not yet,
 Nor spake a word that day, nor following night.

But when the light of the succeeding morn
 Faintly appear'd, and I beheld my own
 In the four faces of my wretched sons,
 I, in my clenched fists, fasten'd my teeth;
 They judging 'twas for hunger rose at once,
 You, sir, have giv'n us being, you have cloath'd
 Us with this miserable flesh, 'tis yours,
 Sustain yourself with it, the grief to us
 Is less to die, than thus to see your woes.
 Thus spake my boys: I like a statue then
 Was silent, still, and not to add to theirs,
 Doubled the weight of my own miseries:

This, and the following day in silence pass'd.
 Why cruel earth didst thou not open then!

The fourth came on; my Gaddo at my feet
 Cry'd, father help me; said no more but dy'd;
 Another day two other sons expir'd;
 The next left me alone in woe; their griefs
 Were ended. Blindness now had seiz'd my eyes,
 But no relief afforded; I saw not
 My sons, but grop'd about with feeble hands
 Longing to touch their famish'd carcases,
 Calling first one, then t'other by their names,
 'Till, after two days more, what grief could not,
 That famine did. He said no more, but turn'd
 With baleful eyes distorted all in haste,
 And seiz'd again, and gnaw'd the mangled head.

The historian and poet having done their parts, comes Michael Angelo Buonarotti, and goes on in a bas-relief I have seen in the hands of Mr. Trench, a modest, ingenious painter, lately arrived from his long studies in Italy. He shews us the count sitting with his four sons, one dead at his feet, over their heads is a figure representing Famine, and underneath is another to denote the river Arno, on whose banks this tragedy was acted. Michael Angelo was the fittest man that ever lived to cut, or paint this story, if I had wished to see it represented in sculpture or painting, I should have fixed upon this hand; he was a Dante in his way, and he read him perpetually. I have already observed, and it is very true, there are certain ideas which cannot be communicated by words, but by sculpture or painting only; it would be ridiculous then on this occasion to undertake to describe this admirable bas-relief; it is enough for my present purpose to say there are attitudes, and airs of heads so proper to the subject, that they carry the imagination beyond what the historian or poet could possibly; for the rest I must refer to the work itself. It is true a genius equal to that of Michael Angelo, may form to itself as strong and proper expressions as these; but where is that genius! Nor can even he communicate them to another, unless he has also a hand
like

like that of Michael Angelo, and will take that way of doing it.

And could we see the same story painted by the same great master, it will be easily conceived that this must carry the matter still farther; there we might have had all the advantages of expression which the addition of colours would have given, and the colouring of Michael Angelo was as proper to that, as his genius was to the story in general; these would have shewn us the pale and livid flesh of the dead, and dying figures, the redness of eyes, and blueish lips of the count, the darkness and horror of the prison, and other circumstances, besides the habits (for in the bas-relief all the figures are naked as more proper for sculpture) these might be contrived so as to express the quality of the persons the more to excite our pity, as well as to enrich the picture by their variety.

Thus, history begins, poetry raises higher, not only by embellishing the story, but by additions purely poetical: Sculpture goes yet farther, and painting compleats and perfects, and that only can; and here ends; this is the utmost limit of human power in the communication of ideas.

I have observed elsewhere, and will take leave to put my reader in mind of it once more. It is little to the honour of painting, or of the masters of whom the stories are told, that the birds have been cheated by a painted bunch of grapes; or men by a fly, or a curtain, and such like; these are little things in comparison of what we are to expect from the art. Those who have fancied these kind of things considerable have been wretched connoisseurs, how excellent soever they may have been in other respects. Raphael would have disdained to have attempted such trifles, or would have blushed to have been praised for them *; but Raphael would have painted a god, a hero, an angel, a Madonna; or he would have related some noble history, or made a portrait in such a manner, as whoever saw it with genius and attention, should treasure up in his mind an idea that should always give him pleasure, and be a wiser and better man all his life after.

The business of painting is to do almost all that discourse and books can, and, in many instances, much more, as well as more speedily

* As Philip asked his son Alexander, if he was not ashamed to play so finely on the flute? because the time and parts that had been spent in acquiring such a trifling excellence, should have been employed on worthier subjects.

and

and more delightfully; so that if history, if poetry, if philosophy, natural or moral, if theology, if any of the liberal arts and sciences are worthy the notice, and study of a gentleman, painting is so too. To read the scripture I know will be allowed to be an employment worthy of a gentleman, because (amongst other reasons) from hence he learns his duty to God, his neighbour and himself; he is put in mind of many great and instructive events, and his passions are warmed and agitated, and turned into a right channel; all these noble ends are answered, I will not say as effectually, but I will repeat it again and again they are answered when we look upon, and consider what the great masters have done when they have assumed the characters of divines or moralists, or have in their way related any of the sacred stories. Is it an amusement or an employment worthy of a gentleman to read Homer, Virgil, Milton? the works of the most excellent painters have the like beautiful descriptions, the like elevation of thought, and raise and move the passions, instruct and improve the mind as these do. Is it worthy of a gentleman to employ, or divert himself by reading Thucydides, Livy, Clarendon? the works of the most excellent painters have the like beauty of narration, fill the mind with ideas of the like noble events, and inform, instruct, and touch the soul alike.

Is

Is it worthy of a gentleman to read Horace, Terence, Shakespeare, the Tatlers, and Spectators? The works of the most excellent painters do also thus give us an image of human life, and fill our minds with useful reflections, as well as diverting ideas; all these ends are answered, and oftentimes to a greater degree than any other way. To consider a picture aright is to read; but in respect of the beauty with which the eye is all the while entertained, whether of colours or figures, it is not only to read a book, and that finely printed and well bound, but as if a concert of music were heard at the same time: You have at once an intellectual and a sensual pleasure.

I plead for the art, not its abuses; it is a sublime passage that in Job, "If when I beheld
 " the sun when it shined, or the moon walking
 " in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my
 " hand, this also was an iniquity to be punished
 " by the judge, for I should have denied the
 " God that is above." If when I see a Madonna, though painted by Raphael, I be enticed and drawn away to idolatry; or if the subject of a picture, though painted by Annibale Carracci, pollutes my mind with impure images, and transforms me into a brute; or if any other, though ever so excellent, rob me of my innocence

cence and virtue, "May my tongue cleave to
 "the roof of my mouth, and my right hand
 "forget its cunning" if I am its advocate, as it
 is instrumental to such detested purposes: But
 these abuses excepted (as what hath not been?
 what is not abused?) the praise of painting is a
 subject not unworthy of the tongue or pen of
 the greatest orator, poet, historian, philosopher,
 or divine; any of which, when he is consider-
 ing the works of our great masters, will not
 only find him to be one of themselves, but
 sometimes all these at once, and in an eminent
 degree. I know I speak with zeal, and an ar-
 dent passion for the art, but I am serious, and
 speak from conviction and experience; and who-
 ever considers impartially, and acquaints him-
 self with such admirable works of painters as I
 have done, will find what I have said is solid
 and unexaggerated truth.

The dignity of the science I am recommend-
 ing will farther appear if it be considered, that
 if gentlemen were lovers of painting, and con-
 noisseurs, it would be of great advantage to the
 public, in

First, The reformation of our manners.

Second, The improvement of our people.

Third,

Third, The increase of our wealth, and with all these of our honour and power.

Anatomists tell us there are several parts in the bodies of animals that singly serve to several purposes, any of which would justify the wisdom and goodness of providence in the forming of them; but that they are equally useful and necessary to all, and serve the end of each as effectually as if they were applied to one only; this is also true of painting; it serves for ornament and use; it pleases our eyes, and moreover informs our understandings, excites our passions, and instructs us how to manage them.

Things ornamental, and things useful, are commonly distinguished; but the truth is, ornaments are also of use, the distinction lies only in the ends to which they are subservient. The wise creator in the great fabrick of the world hath abundantly provided for these, as well as for those that are called the necessities of life; let us imagine ourselves always inhabiting between bare walls; wearing nothing but what was requisite to the covering of our bodies, and protecting them from the inclemencies of the weather; no distinction of quality or office; seeing nothing to delight, but merely what serves for the maintenance of our being; how savage and uncomfortable must this be! Ornaments

ments raise and exhilarate our spirits, and help to excite more useful sentiments than is commonly imagined; and if any have this effect, pictures (considered only as such) will do so in an eminent degree, as being one of the principal of this kind.

But pictures are not merely ornamental, they are also instructive; and thus our houses are not only unlike the caves of wild beasts, or the huts of savages, but distinguished from those of Mahometans, which are adorned indeed, but with what affords no instruction to the mind: Our walls, like the trees of Dodona's grove, speak to us, and teach us history, morality, divinity; excite in us joy, love, pity, devotion; if pictures have not this good effect, it is our own fault in not chusing them well, or not applying ourselves to make a right use of them. But I have spoken of this sufficiently already, and will only take leave to add here, that, if not only our houses, but our churches were adorned with proper histories or allegories well painted, the people being now so well instructed as to be out of danger of superstitious abuses, their minds would be more sensibly affected than they can possibly be without this efficacious means of improvement and edification.

If

If gentlemen were lovers of painting, and connoisseurs, this would help to reform themselves, as their example and influence would have the like effect upon the common people. All animated beings naturally covet pleasure, and eagerly pursue it as their chief good; the great affair is to chuse those that are worthy of rational beings, such as are not only innocent, but noble and excellent. Men of easy and plentiful fortunes have commonly a great part of their time at their own disposal, and the want of knowing how to pass those hours away in virtuous amusements, contributes perhaps as much to the mischievous effects of vice, as covetousness, pride, lust, love of wine, or any other passion whatsoever. If gentlemen therefore found pleasure in pictures, drawings, prints, statues, intaglias, and the like curious works of art; in discovering their beauties and defects; in making proper observations thereupon; and in all the other parts of the business of a connoisseur, how many hours of leisure would here be profitably employed, instead of what is criminal, scandalous, and mischievous! I confess I cannot speak experimentally, because I have not tried those; nor can any man pronounce upon the pleasures of another; but I know what I am recommending is so a great a one, that I cannot conceive the other can be equal

equal to it, especially if the drawbacks of fear, remorse, shame, pain, expence, &c. be taken into the account.

Second, Our common people have been exceedingly improved within an age or two by being taught to read and write; they have also made great advances in mechanicks, and in several other arts and sciences; and our gentry and clergy are more learned, and better reasoners than in times past; a farther improvement might yet be made, and particularly in the arts of design: If as children are taught other things, they, together with these, learned to draw, they would not only be qualified to become better painters, carvers, engravers, and to attain the like arts immediately and evidently depending on design, but they would thus become better mechanicks of all kinds.

And if to learn to draw, and to understand pictures and drawings, were made a part of the education of a gentleman, as their example would excite others to do the like, it cannot be denied but that this would be a farther improvement even of this part of our people; the whole nation would by these means be removed some degrees higher into the rational state, and
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make a more considerable figure amongst the polite nations of the world.

Third, If gentlemen were lovers of painting, and connoisseurs, as of course they would soon be, many sums of money which are now lavished away, and consumed in luxury, would be laid up in pictures, drawings, and antiques, which would be, not as plate or jewels, but a really improving estate; since, as time and accidents must continually waste and diminish the number of these curiosities, and no new supply (equal in goodness to those we have) is to be hoped for, as the appearance of things at present are, the value of such as are preserved with care must necessarily increase more and more; especially if there is a greater demand for them, as there * certainly will be if the taste of gentlemen takes this turn: Nay, it is not improbable that money laid out this way, with judgment and prudence (and if gentlemen are good connoisseurs they will not be imposed upon as they too often are) may turn to better account than almost in any other.

* How greatly time hath verified this, and from the cause my father suggests, is manifest; as it hath also done several of the following hints.

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We know the advantages Italy receives from her possession of so many fine pictures, statues, and other curious works of art: If our country becomes famous in that way, as her riches will enable her to be, if our nobility and gentry are lovers and connoisseurs, we shall share with Italy in the profits arising from the concourse of foreigners for the pleasure and improvement that is to be had from the seeing and considering such rarities.

If our people were improved in the arts of designing, not only our paintings, carvings and prints, but the works of all our other artificers would also be proportionably improved, and consequently coveted by other nations, and their price advanced, which therefore would be no small improvement of our trade, and with that of our wealth.

I have observed heretofore, that there is no artist whatsoever that produces a piece of work of a value so vastly above that of the materials of nature's furnishing, as the painter does; nor consequently that can enrich a country in any degree like him: Now if painting were only considered as upon the level with other manufactures, the employment of more hands, and the work being better done, would certainly

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tend to the increase of our wealth; but this consideration over and above adds a great weight to the argument in favour of the art as instrumental to this end.

Instead of importing vast quantities of pictures, and the like curiosities for ordinary use, we might fetch from abroad only the best, and supply other nations with better than now we commonly take off their hands: For as much a superfluity as these things are thought to be, they are such as no body will be without; not the meanest cottager in the kingdom, that is not in the extremest poverty, but he will have something of picture in his sight. The same is the custom in other nations, in some to a greater, in others to a less degree: These ornaments people will have as well as what is absolutely necessary to life, and as sure a demand will be for them as for food and cloaths; as it is in some other instances, which had been thought at first to be equally superfluous, but which are now become considerable branches of trade, and consequently of great advantage to the public.

Thus a thing as yet unheard of, and whose very name (to our dishonour) has at present an uncouth sound, may come to be eminent in the world, I mean the English school of painting;
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and, whenever this happens, who knows to what heights it may rise; for the English nation is not accustomed to do things by halves.

Arts and politeness have a constant rotation; these parts of Europe have twice received them from Italy, she from Greece, who had them from Egypt and Persia. In one age such a part of the globe is enlightened, and the rest in darkness; and those that were savages for many centuries, in a certain revolution of time, become the polished part of the world. The arts of design have long ago forsaken Persia, Egypt and Greece, and are now, a third time, much declined in Italy; some other country may succeed her in this particular, as she succeeded Greece. Or if the arts continue there, they may spread themselves, and other nations may equal, if not excel, the Italians: There is nothing unreasonable in the thing, nay, it is exceeding probable.

I have said it heretofore, and will venture to repeat it, notwithstanding the national vanity of some of our neighbours, and our own false modesty and partiality to foreigners (in this respect, though in others we have such demonstrations of our superiority that we have learned to be conscious of it) if ever the great taste in

painting, if ever that delightful, useful, and noble art does revive in the world, it is probable it will be in England.

Besides that greatness of mind which has always been inherent in our nation, and a degree of solid sense not inferior to any of our neighbours, we have advantages greater than is commonly thought. We are not without our share of drawings, of which Italy has been in a manner exhausted long since: We have some fine antiques, and a competent number of pictures of the best masters. But whatever our number or variety of good pictures is, we have the best history pictures that are any where now in being, for we have the cartons of Raphael at Hampton-Court, which are generally allowed, even by foreigners, and those of our own nation who are the most bigotted to Italy or France, to be the best of that master, as he is incontestably the best of all those whose works remain in the world. And for portraits we have admirable ones, and perhaps the best of Titian, Rubens, and above all of Vandyke, of whom we have very many; and these are the best portrait painters that ever were.

In ancient times we have been frequently subdued by foreigners, the Romans, Saxons,
Danes,

Danes, and Normans have all done it in their turns ; those days are at an end long since ; and we are by various steps arrived to the height of military glory by sea and land. Nor are we less eminent for learning, philosophy, mathematicks, poetry, strong and clear reasoning, and a greatness and delicacy of taste ; in a word, in many of the liberal and mechanical arts we are equal to any other people, ancients or moderns, and in some perhaps superior. We are not yet come to that maturity in the arts of design ; our neighbours, those of nations not remarkable for their excelling in this way, as well as those that are, have made frequent and successful inroads upon us, and in this particular have lorded it over our natives here in their own country. Let us at length disdain as much to be in subjection in this respect as in any other ; let us put forth our strength, and employ our national virtue, that haughty impatience of subjection and inferiority, which seems to be the characteristic of our nation in this as on many other illustrious occasions, and the thing will be effected ; the English school will rise and flourish.

And to this, and to the obtaining the benefits to the public consequent thereupon, what I have been pleading for would greatly contribute ;

bute; for if our nobility and gentry were lovers and connoisseurs, public encouragement and assistance would be given to the art; academies would be set up, well regulated, and the government of them put into such hands, as would not want authority to maintain those laws, without which no society can prosper, or long subsist. These academies would then be well provided of all necessaries for instruction in geometry, perspective, and anatomy, as well as designing; for without a competent proficiency in the three former, no considerable progress can be made in the other. They would then be furnished with good masters to direct the students, and good drawings and figures, whether casts or originals, antique or modern for their imitation. Nor should these be considered merely as schools or nurseries for painters and sculptors, and other artists of that kind, but as places for the better education of gentlemen, and to complete the civilizing and polishing of our people, as our other schools and universities, and the other means of instruction are.

If our nobility and gentry were lovers of painting, and connoisseurs, a much greater treasure of pictures, drawings and antiques, would be brought in, which would contribute abundantly

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abundantly to the raising and meliorating our taste, as well as to the improvement of our artists.

And then too people of condition would know that at present, whatever hath been the state of things heretofore, foreigners (be they Italians or of whatever other country) have not the advantage over us, whether as connoisseurs, or as painters, as they have been accustomed to imagine: They will then know that, if in some instances the advantage is on their side, in others it is on ours: Thus that partiality so discouraging and pernicious to our own people will be removed.

Such men being connoisseurs, and lovers of painting, and zealous for the honour and interest of their country in this particular, would raise the same spirit in others, and amongst the rest in the artists themselves if it were not there before; and these would then be obliged to labour to improve in their several ways, because they must be otherwise without employment; whereas they will be tempted to indulge themselves in sloth and ignorance, when they find there are easier methods of attaining fame and riches, at least of living tolerably well, than

by making any considerable progress in their art.

A good taste and judgment in those who employ them would not only compel painters to study and be industrious, but put them in a right way if they fell not into it of themselves: It hath been said King Charles the First took such delight in painting that he frequently spent several hours with Vandyke, remarking upon his works, and giving him such hints as much contributed to the excellence we see in them. Painters would thus learn not to attach themselves meanly and servilely to the imitation of this or that particular manner or master, and those perhaps none of the best, but to have more noble, open, and extensive views; to go to the fountain head from whence the greatest men have drawn that which has made their works the wonder of succeeding ages; they would thus learn to go to nature, and to the reason of things. Let them receive all the light they can from drawings, pictures and antiques, but let them not stop there, but endeavour to discover what rules the great masters went by, what principles they built upon, or might have built upon, and let them do the same; not because those masters did so, or were supposed to have done so, but because it was reasonable.

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If, lastly, men of birth and fortunes were generally lovers of painting, and connoisseurs, as they would be convinced of the dignity of the profession, they would cause more of their younger sons (at least) to be applied this way, as well as to law, divinity, arms, navigation, &c. These by a generous education, and not being obliged to work for bare subsistence, would be better qualified for so noble a study, and have better opportunities of improvement in it. There can be no such thing as a mere painter; to merit the name of a painter, it is necessary to be much more; he must be considerable without that addition. It is not here as in numbers, where if a unit be set before several cyphers it may make a sum; there must be a large sum first, and then this unit set at the head of them hath a value, and makes the whole ten times more.

I have been shewing how beneficial the art of painting is, and how much more it might be made to the public in the reformation of our manners, improvement of our people, and increase of our wealth, all which would bring a proportionable addition of honour and power to this brave nation; and I have shewn that for a gentleman to become a lover of the art, and a connoisseur, is the way to attain this end: This
alone

alone, if there was no other argument, would prove it to be worthy of such a one to turn his thoughts this way.—

Here being a full period, and the first opportunity I have had, I will inform the public that I have at length found a name for the Science of a Connoisseur, of which I am treating, and which I observed at the entrance of this subject wanted one. After some sheets of this work were printed, in a former edition, I was complaining of this defect to a friend, who I knew, and every body will readily acknowledge was very proper to be advised with on this or a much greater occasion; and the next day had the honour of a letter from him on another affair, wherein however the term CONNOISSANCE was used; this I immediately found was that he recommended, and which I shall use hereafter. And indeed since the term CONNOISSEUR, though it has a general signification, hath been received as denoting one skilful in this particular science; there can be no reason why the science itself should not be called CONNOISSANCE. Perhaps it is not without some mixture of vanity in myself, but in justice to my friend I must not conceal his name; it is Mr. PRIOR.—

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I will now go on with my discourse.

There are few who pretend to be connoisseurs, and of those few the number of such as deserve to be so called is very small: It is not enough to be an ingenious man in general, nor to have seen all the finest things in Europe, nor even to be able to make a good picture, much less the having the names and something of the history of the masters; all this will not make a man a good connoisseur. To be able to judge of the goodness of a picture, most of those qualifications are necessary which the painter himself ought to be possessed of, that is, all that are not practical; he must be master of the subject, and if it be improveable he must know it is so, and wherein; he must not only see and judge of the thought of the painter in what he hath done, but must know moreover what he ought to have done; he must be acquainted with the passions, their nature, and how they appear on all occasions. He must have a delicacy of eye to judge of harmony and proportion, of beauty of colours, and accuracy of hand; and lastly he must be conversant with the better sort of people, and with the antique, or he will not be a good judge of grace and greatness. To be a good connoisseur a man must be as free from all kinds of prejudice



judice as possible; he must moreover have a clear and exact way of thinking and reasoning; he must know how to take in, and manage just ideas; and throughout he must have not only a solid, but an unbiaſſed judgment. Theſe are the qualifications of a connoiſſeur; and are not theſe, and the exerciſe of them, well becoming a gentleman?

The knowledge of hiſtory hath ever been eſteemed to be ſo. And this is abſolutely neceſſary to a connoiſſeur, not that only which may enable him to judge how well the painter has managed ſuch and ſuch a ſtory, which he will have frequent occaſion to do, but the particular hiſtory of the arts, and eſpecially of painting.

Me thinks it ſhould be worth the while of ſome one duly qualified for ſuch an undertaking, inſtead of the accounts of revolutions in empires and governments, and the means or accidents whereby they were effected, military, or political, to give us the hiſtory of mankind with reſpect to the place they hold among rational beings; that is, a hiſtory of arts and ſciences; wherein it would be ſeen to what heights ſome of the ſpecies have riſen in ſome ages, and ſome countries, whiſt at the ſame time, on other parts of the globe, men have been

been but one degree above common animals; and the same people who in this age gave a dignity to human nature, in another sunk almost to brutality, or changed from one excellency to another. Here we might find where and when such an invention first appeared, and by what means; what improvements and decays happened; when such luminary rose, and what course it took; and whether it is now ascending; in its zenith, declining, or set. Here it would be considered what improvements the moderns have made upon the ancients, and what ground they have lost. Such a history well written, would give a clear idea of the noblest species of beings we are acquainted with, in that particular wherein their pre-eminence consists. And (by the way) I will take leave to observe, that we should find them to have arrived at a vast extent of knowledge and capacity in natural philosophy, in astronomy, in navigation, in geometry, and other branches of the mathematics, in war, in government, in painting, poetry, music, and other liberal and mechanic arts; in other respects, particularly in metaphysics and religion, to have been ridiculous and contemptible; except where the divine goodness hath vouchsafed an extraordinary portion of light, like the sun-beams darting out here and there upon the earth in a cloudy

cloudy day, or where it has blazed out plentifully by supernatural revelation.

In such a history it would be found that the arts of design, painting, and sculpture, were known in Persia and Egypt, long before we have any accounts of them amongst the Greeks; but that they carried them to an amazing height, from whence they afterwards spread themselves into Italy, and other parts, with various revolutions, till they sunk with the Roman empire, and were lost for many ages, so that there was not a man upon the face of the earth able to delineate the form of a house, a bird, a tree, a human face, a body, or whatever other figure consisting of any variety of curved lines, otherwise than as a child amongst us: to do this, right, and as it is done now, was as much above the capacity of the species, at that time, as it is now to make a voyage to the moon. In this state of things, about the middle of the 13th century Giovanni Cimabue a Florentine, prompted to it by a natural genius, and assisted at first by some wretched painters from Greece, began to restore those arts which were improved by his disciple Giotto.

In such a history it would follow that after several endeavours and advances had been
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made by Simone Memmi, Andrea Verrocchio, and others, Massaccio born about anno 1417 at Florence, in his short life of six and twenty years, made so considerable an improvement upon what he found had been done before him, that he may justly be (as he is) esteemed, the father of the second age of modern painting. The light thus happily kindled in Tuscany diffused itself into Lombardy; for soon after the death of Masaccio, the Bellinis, Jacopo, and his two sons first introduced the art into Venice; and soon after, Francesco Francia appeared at Bologna, and was the Massaccio of that city; for the art had raised its head there long before *, and some say more early than even at Florence; though it was but just kept alive there till many years after. About this time too Andrea Mantegna shewed the art to those of Mantua and Padua. Germany also had her Albert Durer about the latter end of the same century, and in the beginning of the next Lucas van Leyden was famous in Holland; as was Hans Holbein quickly after here in England. But Florence was still the center of light, where it brightened more and more; for in the year 1445 Lionardo da Vinci was born there; this was a universal man, and, amongst other arts, was excellent in paint-

* See count Malvasia's *Felfina Pittrice*.

ing and designing, especially the latter, in which he sometimes almost equalled the best masters the world ever saw. About 30 years after him arose Michael Angelo Buonarotti, the head of the Florentine school, a vast genius, superior to all the moderns in sculpture, and perhaps in designing, and a profound knowledge in anatomy; and moreover as excellent an architect. These two great men coming to Rome, where (though there was so great a disproportion in their years) they were competitors, transferred the seat of the art to that happy city. Though in Venice it went on improving, and growing up to maturity and perfection, which it attained to (in some of its parts, particularly colouring) in Giorgione, and more eminently in Titian, and in Correggio upon the terra firma of Lombardy. And now, that is, upon the entrance of the 16th century the great luminary of painting appeared above the horizon, the undoubted head of the Roman school, and of the modern painters Raphael Sanzio da Urbino. Whether any of the ancients excelled him, and if they did, in what degree, are questions which the history I am recommending as proper to be written may endeavour to resolve, I will not. But such an historian will go on to shew how the flame which blazed so gloriously in Raphael, and continued bright, though with a diminished

nished lustre in his disciples Giulio Romano, Polidoro, Pierino, and others; and at Florence in Andrea del Sarto; and there, and elsewhere, as well as at Rome in Baldassar Peruzzi, Primaticcio, Parmegiano, the elder Palma, Tintoretto, Baroccio, Paulo Veronese, and many others, decayed by little and little; till it was blown up again in the school of the Caracci in Bologna, about an hundred and forty years ago; and continued with great brightness in their disciples and others; Guido, Albani, Dominichino, Lanfranco, &c. But as the Jews wept when they saw the second temple, which, though magnificent, was not equal to the first, so neither was this great effort capable of producing such stupendous works of art as those of the Raphael age. And though we have had great men in their several ways, as Rubens, Spagnoletto, Guercino, Nicholas Poussin, Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Vandyke, Castiglione, Claude Lorenese, the Borgognone, Salvator Rosa, Carlo Maratti, Luca Giordano, and several others of lesser note, though nevertheless of considerable merit, yet the art has visibly declined. As for its present state in Italy, here, and elsewhere, the historian I am speaking of may write what he thinks fit, and perhaps by that time new matter may arise; I, for my own part, instead of entering upon that subject, will content myself with observing in

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general, that, though mankind hath always expressed a love to it, and been ready to encourage the weakest endeavours this way, (I only except the Jews, an Arabian impostor, and his fanatick disciples, and some few enthusiasts, and four, stupid people) the species in all the many ages of their existence hath been rarely able, and in a narrow extent of country at any one time to perform any thing considerable in painting; there have been innumerable geniuses in other arts and sciences, but in this the number is very small; great masters in many other arts have appeared in all ages; of painting there have been none in all the six thousand years since the birth of the world, except those in Greece and Italy, two thousand years ago, and this perhaps for about the space of five hundred years; and those in this latter age of the art of which I have been offering a cursory view.

It must have been observed that the art hath flourished at Florence, Rome, Venice, Bologna, &c. in each of which places the style of painting has been different; as it hath been in the several ages in which it has flourished. When it first began to revive after the terrible devastations of superstition and barbarism, it was with a stiff, lame manner, which mended by little and little, till the time of Masaccio, who

rose into a better taste, and began what was reserved for Raphael to complete. However, even this bad style had something manly and vigorous; whereas in the decay, whether after the happy age of Raphael, or that of Hannibal, one sees an effeminate, languid air, or, if it has not that, it has the vigour of a bully, rather than of a brave man: The old bad painting has more faults than the modern, but this falls into the insipid.

The painters of the Roman school were the best designers, and had more of the antique taste in their works than any of the others, but generally they were not good colourists; those of Florence were good designers, and had a kind of greatness, but it was not antique. The Venetian and Lombard schools had excellent colourists, and a certain grace, but entirely modern, especially those of Venice; but their drawing was generally incorrect, and their knowledge in history, and the antique very little: And the Bolognese school is a sort of composition of the others; even Hannibal himself possessed not any part of painting in the perfection which is to be seen in those from whom his manner is composed; though, to make amends, he possessed more parts than perhaps any other master, and all in a very high degree. The works of those of the German school have a

dryness and ungraceful stiffness, not like what is seen amongst the old Florentines, this has something in it pleasing however, but that is odious, and as remote from the antique as Gothicism could carry it. The Flemings have been good colourists, and imitated nature as they conceived it, that is, instead of raising nature, they fell below it, though not so much as the Germans, nor in the same manner; Rubens himself lived and died a Fleming, though he would fain have been an Italian; but his imitators have caricaturaed his manner, that is, they have been more Rubens in his defects than he himself was, but without his excellencies. The French (excepting some few of them, N. Poussin, Le Seur, Sebastien Bourdon, &c.) as they have not the German stiffness, nor the Flemish ungracefulness, neither have they the Italian solidity; and in their airs of heads and manners, they are easily distinguished from the antique, how much soever they may have endeavoured to imitate them.

Which have been the most excellent painters, the ancients or the moderns, is a question often proposed, and which I will, just by the by, endeavour to resolve. That the painters of those times were equal to the sculptors in invention, expression, drawing, grace and greatness, besides their own authors all affirming it, is so exceed-

exceeding probable, that I think it may be taken for granted. If so, that in drawing, grace and greatness, the ancients have the advantage is certain; and little less than certain that in colouring, and composition the moderns have it more.

Now, as drawing represents to us the beauty of forms, and colouring the animated tints of the life, this seems, in a great measure, to make amends, in favour of the moderns, for what they may be, in some degree, wanting, in regard to the other; yet not wholly, since no colours can ever equal the beauties of nature; whereas drawing, we can almost venture to say, can surpass nature itself; at least such as one ever sees it in the same subject.

The manner of thinking of the ancients is such as is not to be mentioned without the utmost veneration allowed to be given to mortal men; but when I see what some of the moderns have done in these parts of painting, I profess I dare not determine which has the preference. It would be a fine amusement, or rather a noble and a useful employment for a gentleman to collect and compare the many fine thoughts and expressions on one side and the other: For me to do it here would be too tedious, and too great a task, having already undertaken

what will cost me more pains and time than I intended, or perhaps is fit for me to bestow this way.

Thus far the scale seems pretty equal; unless it be thought to incline a little on the side of the ancients. There remains to oppose the composition of the moderns, to this small advantage, and to that, far more considerable one, their high excellence in grace and greatness. But perhaps all this will not be sufficient to give them the preference; for, without mentioning our Parmegiano, our Corregio, our Michael Angelo, let us insist on our Raphael alone, "*In quo instar omnium auxiliorum est;*" let us reflect on what he hath done for us, in subjects far more sublime than the ancients ever had to treat, (and by the way let this be added to the scale of the moderns, that they are possessed of such subjects) and let us give composition its due share, in which the ancients come in no sort of concurrence with us; let us reflect, that this, which is like perspicuity in writing, that arises from the methodical disposition of the several parts of the subject; and that it not only gives a relief to, and improves the other beauties, but still more strongly urges the expression itself, which is the very life and soul of the work, by making it every where remarked; I think I may venture to decide in
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favour of the moderns: However I should be glad to see this curious question handled with accuracy and judgment.

Another part of history, no less worthy a gentleman's consideration than necessary to a connoisseur, is that of the lives of the particular masters. When we reflect upon the vigorous sallies which some of the species have made, whereby they have as it were connected ours with that of the next order of beings above us, we must naturally desire to have a more exact account of every step they made towards that glorious distinction; this also will be of use to ourselves, and help to excite us to do something whereby we also may be distinguished with honour, and our memories be sweet to posterity.

As in reading the lives of great captains and statesmen, we are instructed in the history of their times, and their own and neighbouring nations; in those of philosophers and divines we see the state of learning and religion; so in the lives of the painters we see the history of the art; and I believe there has been as many accounts of these great men who have done so much honour to human nature, and many of them as well written as of any class of men whatsoever.

The general idea I have of those excellent men, I mean of the principal of them, such as those of whom I have given an historical and chronological list at the end of the first part of this work is this, they were most of them men of fine, natural parts, and some of them went very far into learning and other sciences, particularly music and poetry; many of them have received various public honours, and some have entailed nobility on their posterity; most of them advanced their fortunes very considerably, they have generally been in great favour with their sovereigns, or much esteemed and honoured by men of the first quality; lived in great reputation, and died regretted by the best and wisest of their countrymen: Several of them were remarkably fine gentlemen, and if any of them were not so, they were not sordid, low, vicious creatures. Annibale Carracci took more pleasure in his painting than in the gaieties of a court, or the conversation or friendship of the great, which with a sort of Stoical, and perhaps a mixture of a Cynical pride he despised; but he had a greatness of mind that pleads effectually in his behalf, and compels us to overlook his faults, which were much owing to his natural melancholy. The histories of Raphael, Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Titian, Giulio Romano, Guido, Rubens, Vandyke,

dyke, Sir Peter Lely, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, (to name no more) are well known; they lived in great honour, and made a very considerable figure in their several times and countries.

That it hath frequently happened to good painters to have been idle and fots, is a vulgar error; on the contrary, I know not even one instance of this among those great masters whom I have all along been speaking of, and who alone are considerable in their profession; tho' indeed those that have given occasion for this scandal may possibly have been the best whose works those people who have thus thought have been acquainted with.

Another mistake of this kind is, that the painters, how excellent soever they may have been in their art, have often been inconsiderable otherwise: But (as I have observed heretofore) a valuable man will remain, though a good painter is deprived of his eyes and hands.

When after a brouillerie between pope Julius and Michael Angelo, upon account of a slight the artist conceived the pontiff had put upon him (the story is at large in Vafari) Michael Angelo was introduced by a bishop (who was a stranger to him, but was deputed by cardinal Soderini,

Soderini, who being sick could not do it himself as was intended) this bishop thinking to serve Michael Angelo by it, made it an argument that the pope should be reconciled to him, "Because men of his profession were often ignorant, and of no consequence otherwise;" his holiness, enraged at the bishop, struck him with his staff, and told him, "It was he that was the blockhead, and affronted the man himself would not offend:" The prelate was driven out of the chamber, and Michael Angelo had the pope's benediction accompanied with presents. This bishop had fallen into this vulgar error, and was rebuked accordingly.

What I have been saying puts me in mind of a story which passes very currently of this great master, and that is, that he had a porter fixed as to a cross, and then stabbed him that he might the better express the dying agonies of our Lord in a crucifix he was painting; I find no good ground for this slander. Perhaps it is a copy of a like story of Parrhasius, the truth of which is also much doubted of; it is said he fastened a slave he had bought to a machine, and then tormented him to death; and whilst he was dying painted the Prometheus he made for the temple of Minerva at Athens. Those who invented these ridiculous stories, did
not

not consider, that the sort of expressions and distortions of these low men could not have served to represent the agonies of Christ on the cross; nor even those of so high a character as that of Prometheus.

Now that I am upon particulars, there is one of a different sort relating to Titian, which I will take this occasion to make more public than has yet been done: It is a letter written by him to the emperor Charles V. I find it in a collection of Italian letters printed at Venice 1574. Ridolfi, nor any other writer that I know of has this, though he has another written to the emperor, and one to Philip II. king of Spain, as he has also one or two letters from that king to Titian.

“ Invittissimo principe, se dolse alla sacra
 “ maestà vostra la falsa nuoua della morte mia,
 “ a me è stato di consolatione d’essere perciò
 “ fatto più certo che l’altezza vostra della mia
 “ feruitù si ricordi, onde la uita m’è doppia-
 “ mente cara. Et humilmente prego N. S.
 “ Dio a conseruarmi (se non più) tanto che
 “ finisca l’opera della cesarea maestà vostra, la
 “ quale si truoua in termine che a settembre
 “ prossimo potrà comparire dinanzi l’altezza
 “ vostra; alla quale frà questo mezzo con ogni
 “ humiltà

“humiltà m’inchino, & riuerentemente in sua
 “gratia mi raccomando.

“TITIANO VECELLIO.”

Lomazzo, in his *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, page 57, prettily characterizes several of those great masters I have been speaking of, by animals; and famous men, chiefly philosophers.

To Michael Angelo he affigns a dragon, and Socrates.

To Gaudentio an eagle, and Plato.

To Polidoro a horse, and Alcides.

To Lionardo da Vinci a lion, and Prometheus.

To Andrea Mantegna a serpent, and Archimedes.

To Titian an ox, and Aristotle.

To Raphael a man, and Solomon.

For the rest I refer you to the books.

But

But what completes the history of these great painters is their works ; of which a great number, especially of drawings, are preserved to our times. Here we see their beginning, progress, and completion ; their several various ways of thinking ; their different manners of expressing their thoughts ; the ideas they have of beauty in visible objects ; and what accuracy and readiness of hand they had in expressing what they conceived. Here we see the steps they made in some of their works, their diligence, carelessness, or other inequalities, the variation of their styles, and abundance of other circumstances relating to them. If therefore history, if the history of the arts, if the history of the particular artists, if these are worthy of a gentleman, this part of the history, thus written, where almost every page, every character is an instance of the beauty and excellency of the art, and of the admirable qualities of the men of whom it treats, is also well worthy his perusal and study.

I will conclude this branch of my argument relating to the dignity of painting, and connoissance, with observing, that those of the greatest quality have not thought it unworthy of them to practise, not the latter only, but the other. And that if it is not yet a diminution of such a one's character, not to be a connoisseur,

feur, it is an addition to it if he is; and is judged to be so by every body. And some such we have of our own nation, who are distinguished not only by their birth and fortunes, but by other the most amiable qualities that justly endear them to all who have the honour and happiness of knowing them, and being known to them; if withal they have a due sense of virtue, integrity, honour, love of their country, and other noble qualities, which those illustrious connoisseurs possess in so eminent a degree.

S E C T. II.

Let us now see whether in the science I am treating of as much certainty is not to be had as perhaps in any other whatsoever.

As to the first branch, the manner of judging of the goodness of a picture, it is established on incontestable principles, founded on the senses. The other, the knowledge of hands, and the distinguishing copies from originals, have the same security as our lives, our goods, and every thing else that depends on order and happiness in the world. All these would be very uncertain indeed, and precarious, if one could make no difference; and if they could be so counterfeited,

feited that it would be impossible to detect the abuse.

Rules may be established so clearly derived from reason as to be utterly indisputable. If the design of the picture be (as in general it is) to please * and improve the mind (as in poetry) the story must have all possible advantages given to it, and the actors must have the utmost grace and dignity their several characters will admit of. If historical and natural truth only be intended, these must be kept to; though the best choice of these also must be made; in both cases, unity of time, place, and action ought to be observed; the composition must be such as to make the thoughts appear at first sight, and the principal of them the most conspicuously; and the whole must be so contrived as to present a grateful object to the eye, both as to the colours and the masses of light and shadow. These things are so evident as not to admit of any dispute or contradiction; as it also is that the expression must be strong, the drawing just, the colouring clean and beautiful, the handling easy and light, and all these proper to the subject. Nor will it be difficult to

* Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetæ;
Aut simul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ.

HOR. ART. POET. 333.

know

know assuredly what is so, unless with relation to the justness of the drawing; but, in the main, whether any thing is lame, distorted, misshapen, ill proportioned, or flat; or, on the contrary, round and beautiful, is what any eye that is tolerably curious can judge of.

The rules being fixed and certain, whether a picture or drawing hath the properties required is easily seen; and, when they are discovered, a man is as certain he really sees what he thinks he sees, as in any other case where his own senses convey the evidence to his understanding.

And by being accustomed to see and observe the best pictures, a man may judge in what degree these excellencies are found in that under consideration; for all things must be judged of by comparison; that will be thought the best that is the best we know of.

If a picture has any of the good properties I have been speaking of (as none has all) we can see which or how many they have, and what they are; and can tell what rank they ought to hold in our estimation, and whether the excellencies they have will atone for those they want, as the most delicate pencil, the finest colouring, the greatest force (though these are valuable) will not make amends for a lewd

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or profane subject, a poor and insipid way of thinking, lameness, or stiffness, want of harmony, and tameness, meanness, and ungracefulness throughout; for this would be like good language and musical numbers in a poem without sense, invention, elevation, propriety, and the other requisites in poetry.

Without principles a man is in the dark, and fluctuates in uncertainty; but having these he will be steady and clear: If care be taken to keep to them, and that we do not judge by something else besides, or instead of them; and moreover that they be solid and just.

Here now is a very great degree of certainty to be had, in by much the most material branch of the science. And that being secured, it is comparatively of little consequence of what hand a work is, or whether it is an original or not.

But here too there are many cases wherein we can have an equal degree of assurance as in the former. Thus it is with respect to the best works of the best masters; especially when if it is a picture, history or tradition confirms our opinion; and, if a drawing, it is known for what picture it was made; or when we have an opportunity (which frequently happens) of

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comparing one of the same master and manner with another. In the best works of the best masters, not only their characters are evidently seen, but here they are exalted above the possibility of being copied or imitated so as not to be discovered. And besides, providence hath preserved to us a sufficient number of the works of these excellent men whereon securely to form our ideas concerning them.

A like degree of evidence we have for the works of those who have been great mannerists, and of whom we have many pictures or drawings. It is true, a tolerable copy of one of these masters may at first sight be taken for an original, as an imitation may be thought to be genuine; but it is very rarely found that the difference is not plainly discovered with a little attention; generally it is seen immediately and incontestably.

There are many sketches, or other free works, whether pictures or drawings, of whose originality we are also absolutely certain.

I pretend not to go through all the cases wherein this assurance, or high degree of persuasion is to be had, it would be too tedious. We may be reasonably well persuaded in many others; as where we have considerable numbers

of genuine works of masters not so excellent, nor whose manners are more particularly remarkable. We may also be thus persuaded of those that are not the best of the greatest hands, or manners which they seldom used; and this by comparing these works with those which are indisputable; for there is in all the masters, though not in all equally, a certain character and peculiarity that runs through all their works in some measure, and which a good connoisseur knows, though he cannot describe it to another.

This way of comparison too helps us to a higher degree of persuasion than otherwise we should have had with relation to the works of masters of whom we have but a small number: as, for example of Dominichino; we know his general character, that is established by those few of his works that are in Rome, Naples, and elsewhere, and by the writers; as we also know the character of Annibale Carracci by the same means, but in a greater degree. If then we cannot confront a work, thought to be of the former, with another already judged to be of him, it may be of considerable use to compare it with one of Annibale, and to see what degree and kind of goodness it has in that comparison, and whether that answers to the

character of Dominichino, as compared with the other ; if it does, it is an additional evidence over and above what we had before.

From these we descend to more doubtful cases, which it is troublesome, and of no great use to enumerate ; only in general this is certain, that these cases are such as are of the least consequence, as being for the most part with relation to some of the worst works of the better masters, or those of inconsiderable ones. If it is doubtful whether a picture or a drawing is a copy or an original, it is of little consequence which it is ; and more or less in proportion as it is doubtful : If the case be exceeding difficult, or impossible to be determined, it is no matter whether it is determined or no ; the picture, supposing it to be a copy, must be in a manner as good as the original.

After all it must be acknowledged, that as in other sciences there are certain branches of them wherein one man excels, and another in others, but knows little of the rest ; so in connoissance, no one man can be acquainted with the hands of all, even of the most considerable masters ; nor with all the manners perhaps of any one of those who have had great variety of them ; nor to be very expert in more than a few of these :

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He must be contented with a moderate skill in many, and to be utterly ignorant in some of them: Such is the narrowness of our faculties, the extent of the science, or the want of helps and materials for the study.

However, let it be remembered too, that every connoisseur may judge concerning the goodness of a picture or drawing as to all the parts of it, except the invention and expression in history, and the resemblance in portraits; and these no one man can judge accurately of in all cases, because no one man can be acquainted with all the stories or fables, or other subjects of the picture, as no one man can know every body.

The variety of opinions of connoisseurs, or such as pretend to be so, will be made an objection to what I have advanced. And it may seem to be a very considerable one. But this does not always happen from the obscurity of the science; it is frequently from some defect in the men, or in their management on these occasions, whether weakness, rashness, interest, &c. so as to render these their opinions, or what they call so, utterly insignificant.

There are some people who never had any opinions of their own, properly speaking; some there are, hardly some, who have, but have taken up their notions upon trust; they talk from whim or fancy, or as they have heard others talk, without fixing upon or establishing any certain principles, whereby to conduct themselves in this affair.

Others may have considered more, but to as little purpose, having gone upon principles false or precarious; to which they are bigoted, and resolve to adhere; never impartially enquiring whether they were in the right or no, or perhaps so much as suspecting they were not, or imagining such a thing was possible.

As the former never studied at all, these have done so but in part; they have not dug down to the foundation, but taken the first appearance, and thought it was all; these, if they have had the opportunity of seeing good things, especially if they have been abroad, and above all in Italy, and there picked up the names of some of the masters, and a little of the history, set up for connoisseurs of course, without taking the requisite pains to be really what they affect to be. And as truth lies in one single point, and error is infinite, such people as these
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may study, dispute, and wrangle eternally, and always find plausible arguments on both sides, but never get out of the labyrinth.

Again, some there are who are incapable of being good connoisseurs, let them take what pains they will; those who want genius, and a competent measure of understanding in this particular study, however sensible men they may be in general, can never penetrate into the beauties or defects of a picture; they can never be judges of the degrees of its goodness. And those that know not how to form clear and distinct ideas, and have not a memory to retain, and skill to manage them, can never be good judges of hands, or know copies from originals.

A man may be a good connoisseur in general, and an ingenious man, and yet his judgment in many cases is not to be regarded; he may be exactly upon the level with those that are neither one, nor the other; there is a certain circle beyond which the wisest men are fools; every man's capacity has its bounds; and it is not every one's talent to know the utmost extent of these, or to keep himself from making excursions. One connoisseur is well acquainted with the hands of some of the masters, or with some

of their manners, but not with others; if he pretends to give his judgment in those cases wherein he is ignorant, it is at least an equal chance but he is wrong; and if he is so, another, who may not be a better connoisseur in the main though he is so in this particular, will probably differ from him. The dispute then will lie between a wise man and a fool, in the present case; but, that there is a dispute at all, is not from the obscurity of the science, but the indiscretion of one of the disputants. I have observed frequently instances of this inequality in ingenious men with some surprize; I have known the same man talk like a very able connoisseur at one time, and at another like one that had never considered these things at all; whether, that he was, at such times, careless, or absent from himself, or that he was really out of his depth in those particulars, I know not.

Nor is there after all, indeed, so great a difference of opinions in some cases, nor so great a conformity in others as there seems to be amongst men.

When one says a picture is good and the other the contrary, either may fix upon certain properties wherein both may be in the right; the
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only fault may be in denominating the whole from a part, and not understanding one another.

Some men, and indeed all men at some times, will give their judgments in haste, and before they have enough considered and recollected themselves; whether from a natural vivacity of temper, an affectation of appearing to be ready, or from whatever other cause; such sudden opinions are commonly different from what the same person's more deliberate judgment would have been: But such is the pride and folly of some people, that what they have once said, the opinion they have once espoused, they will adhere to, how much in the wrong soever they may find themselves to have been; and this rather than own it was possible for them to have been mistaken; though that is common to the wisest of men, and the persisting in a known error none but a fool (in that respect at least) is capable of; that has no dishonour in it, and oftentimes the contrary; this is shameful and ridiculous.

Some are exorbitant in the praises of what themselves possess, and as much depreciate every thing else; and this from partiality on the one hand, and pure malice and ill nature on the other; but however it be, an account
is

is thus given of pictures, or drawings very different from what will be had from other connoisseurs. Just as I have seen party-men in civil or religious matters represent the cause they espouse as without spot or blemish, and that of their opponents as utterly absurd and mischievous; whereas the great difference is in their interests and inclinations, not in their judgments.

Men frequently dissemble their real sentiments in connoissance; and this either with an ill intention, or very justifiably. The first of these cases many a gentleman has known to have happened to his cost in some instances; and in more, they never have been, nor ever will be undeceived. There are picture-jockeys who will make what advantage they can of the credulity of others, and their own superior understandings in that particular, and to that end assert what themselves believe to be false.

Others again put on the mask, for their own sakes in part, and partly for the sakes of other people. We frequently meet with pictures or drawings which we know are not what the owners of them take them to be: What can we do in this case? What, but the same as every wise man must, and will do in like circumstances; and many cases there are in the world

world where wise men are thought to think otherwise than they do, because they are too wise to tell their real thoughts; the maxim which sir Henry Wootton recommended to Mr. Milton when he was entering upon his travels "*i pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto*; Close thoughts, and open countenance;" is as necessary to be observed by connoisseurs as travellers, or any other sort of men whatsoever. "Some years since a very honest gentleman came to me, and amongst other discourse, with abundance of civility, invited me to his house. I have (says he) a picture of Rubens, it is a rare good one; there is little Howard t'other day came to see it, and says it is a copy; G—— d—— him, if any one says that picture is a copy I'll break his head; pray Mr. Richardson will you do me the favour to come, and give me your real opinion of it."

Mankind is generally disposed to believe those who tell them what they would have to be true; not because their assent is regulated by their passions, and differently from the evidence as it appears to them; but they really conceive a better opinion of these people, and think their judgment is better than the others; and these kind of arguments being what they rely upon in this case, they appear stronger on this side
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than on the other; their minds being also more applied to the consideration of these, than those other.

And these people have a degree of happiness by error in this case which truth would deprive them of, and consequently they would suffer by it; and truth and error are indifferent to us, but as either tends to our good, that is to our happiness; or, in other words, the degree of our enjoyments, the whole duration of our existence being taken into the account. In this world we probably enjoy as much from our ignorance and mistakes, as from our knowledge and true judgments; and we are many times in such circumstances that truth would make us extremely wretched; so that he is mischievous to us who opens our eyes. A good connoisseur therefore, who is withal a plain, sincere man, has great difficulties many times when he sees a collection, or a single picture or two; chiefly when gentlemen will urge him to give his opinion of something they have lately acquired, and the honey-moon is not yet over. On these occasions one cannot avoid applying the words of our Saviour to his disciples; "I have many things to say to you, " but you cannot bear them now."

I should be very loath to be an advocate for insincerity of any kind, and indeed I am
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very unfit for it: If the state of things would admit of it, I should be glad to come into a general agreement, never to conceal the least thought of the heart by any word, look, or action whatsoever; but, as the case now stands, the disguises I have been pleading for are so necessary, and they are so much the same with those complements and civilities universally practised, that he that is deceived by them, if he should discover it, would acquit and approve the deceiver; or they will not deceive at all.

I will however take the liberty to put gentlemen in mind of the great injury they do themselves by their being so tender in regard to their own things, as not to permit every one to speak his mind freely, and without reserve; not only their judgments by this means are kept low, but they are sufferers in their purses; they lie open to be imposed on, and in fact too often fling away their money upon trash; they have pleasure indeed, but they might have that too, and greater, and more durable, without those disadvantages; nay, with the contrary circumstances, they might become good connoisseurs, and be good oeconomists at the same time.

Another instance of an apparent, but no real difference in the opinions of connoisseurs
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is this, (and it is the last I shall mention) it is very common for other people (not the owners) to ask our opinions of pictures, or collections, when there may be good reasons why we should not be very exact and particular in our answers; especially if the things in question are to be disposed of, and the opinion is asked in a large and mixed company. In this case the usual way is to avoid the mention of any faults, and to say what good we can in general terms; which kind of character is indeed no other than a tub flung out for the whale to play with, that the ship may get rid of him; for it gives no idea, or none should be taken from thence; the man that has got it is certainly not one jot the wiser for it, how well satisfied soever he may be with it.

At other times we may have as good reasons to be clear and explicit in our characters; if these two accounts happen to be compared, (as they often are) there will appear a difference in judgment or insincerity; when those who gave them were of the same mind all along, and spake nothing but the truth, though not all the truth.

Some casuists have said, no man is bound to deliver truth to him who has no right to demand it. Of what use soever this rule may be

be towards the disentangling us from the perplexities we find in the definition of a criminal lie, thus far is plain and certain, that we are not obliged to give our opinions to those who are not entitled to them, whether by promise, gratitude, common justice, or prudence.

Understanding in a science, as all other natural or acquired advantages is the possessor's property, which every man sells at as good a rate as he can for value received or expected. This is common to all orders of men; why connoisseurs should be expected to distinguish themselves by their generosity or prodigality, is unaccountable. But it would be altogether absurd for them to do it, when they shall be sure to create to themselves enemies by that means, and this only to satisfy an insignificant curiosity, or even to serve those who probably will never think themselves obliged, or remember it afterwards.

Because therefore we cannot otherwise avoid some peoples' importunity, we are forced to be provided, as with gold and silver, to pay our debts, or purchase necessaries or conveniencies, so with half-pence for beggars.

S E C T. III.

I am now come to the third branch of argument, whereby I would recommend the love
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of painting, and study of connoissance, upon account of the pleasure it is capable of affording.

What is beautiful and excellent, is naturally adapted to please; but all beauties and excellencies are not, naturally, seen. Most gentlemen see pictures and drawings, as the generality of people see the heavens in a clear, starry night; they perceive a sort of beauty there, but such a one as produces no great pleasure in the mind; but when one considers the heavenly bodies as other worlds, and that there are an infinite number of these in the empire of God, immensity, and worlds which our eyes assisted by the best glasses can never reach, and so far remote from the most distant of what we see (which yet are so far removed from us, that when we consider it our minds are filled with astonishment) that these visible ones are as it were our neighbours, as the continent of France is to Great Britain; when one considers farther, that as there are inhabitants on this continent though we see them not when we see that, it is altogether unreasonable to imagine that those innumerable worlds are uninhabited and desert; there must be beings there, some perhaps more, others less noble and excellent than man: When one thus views this vast prospect, the mind is otherwise affected than before,

before, and feels a delight which common notions never can administer. So those who at present cannot comprehend there can be such pleasure in a good picture or drawing, as connoisseurs pretend to find, may learn to see the same thing themselves, their eyes being once opened they may be said to obtain a new sense; and new pleasures flow in as often as the objects of that superinduced sight present themselves, which (to people of condition especially) very frequently happens, or may be procured, whether here at home, or in their travels abroad. When a gentleman has learned to see the beauties and excellencies that are really in good pictures and drawings, and which may be learnt by conversing with such, and applying himself to the consideration of them, he will look upon that with joy which he now passes over with very little pleasure, if not with indifference; nay, a sketch, a scribble of the hand of a great master will be capable of administering to him a greater degree of pleasure than those who know it not by experience can have any conception of, besides the graceful and noble attitudes, the beauty of colours and forms, and the fine effects of light and shadow, which none sees as a connoisseur does, such a one enters farther than any other can do into the beauties of the invention, expression; and other parts of the

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work

work he is considering. He sees strokes of art, contrivances, expedients, a delicacy and spirit that others see not, or very imperfectly.

He sees what a force of mind the great masters had to conceive ideas; what judgment to see things beautifully, or to imagine beauty from what they saw; and what a power their hands were endued withal, in a few strokes and with ease, to shew to another what themselves conceived.

What is it that gives us pleasure in reading a history or poem, but that the mind is thereby furnished with variety of images? And what distinguishes some authors, and sets them above the common level, but their knowing how to raise their subject? The Trojan or Peloponesian wars, would never have been thought of by us, if a Homer or a Thucydides had not told the stories of them, who knew how to do it so as to fill the minds of their readers with great and delightful ideas. He who converses with the works of the best masters, is always reading such admirable authors; and his mind consequently, in proportion, entertained, and delighted with fine histories, fables, characters, the ideas of magnificent buildings, fine prospects, &c.

And he sees these things in those different lights, which the various manners of thinking of the several masters sets them; he sees them as they are represented by the capricious, but vast genius of Lionardo da Vinci; the fierce and gigantick one of Michael Angelo; the divine and polite one of Raphael; the poetical fancy of Giulio; the angelical mind of Corregio, or Parmegiano; the haughty, fullen, but accomplished Annibal, the learned Agostino Caracci, &c.

A connoisseur hath this farther advantage, that he not only sees beauties in pictures and drawings which, to common eyes, are invisible; but he learns by these to see such in nature, in the exquisite forms and colours, the fine effects of lights, shadows, and reflections, which in her are always to be found; and from whence he hath a pleasure which otherwise he could never have had *, and which none with untaught eyes can possibly discern: He has a constant pleasure of this kind even in the most common things, and the most familiar to us, so that what people usually look upon with the utmost indifference creates an home-felt

* Nos etiam oculos habemus eruditos, says Cicero to his friend Atticus, when, in Greece, he desires to spare no expence to procure him statues and busts of philosophers, historians and poets, to crown his noble Tusculan Library.

delight in his mind. The noblest works of Raphael, the most ravishing musick of Handel, the most masterly strokes of Milton, touch not people who are without discernment.

So, the beauties themselves of those all-perfect works of the great author of nature are not seen but by enlightened eyes, that is, those eyes which are taught to see; to these they appear far otherwise than before they were, so, so far otherwise! that one sees through a glass darkly, (through the gross medium of ignorance) the other, that of a connoisseur, as when the angel had removed the film from Adam's eyes, and purged with euphrane and rue the visual nerve, seeth beauty, divine and human, as far as human may, as we hope to see every thing, still nearer to its true beauty and perfection, in a better state; When we shall "see" what eye hath not seen, neither hath entered "into the heart of man."

By conversing with the works of the best masters, our imaginations are impregnated with great and beautiful images, which present themselves on all occasions in reading an author, or ruminating upon some great action, ancient or modern; every thing is raised, every thing improved from what it would have been otherwise. Nay those lovely images with which our
minds

minds are thus enriched arise there continually, and give us pleasure, with or without any particular application.

What is rare and curious, exclusive of any other consideration we naturally take pleasure in; because, as variable as our circumstances are, there is so much of repetition in life, that more variety is still desirable. The works of the great masters would thus recommend themselves to us, though they had not that transcendent excellency as they have; they are such as are rarely seen; they are the works of a small number of the species in one little country of the world, and in a short space of time. But their excellency being put into the scale, makes the rarity of them justly considerable. They are the works of men like whom none are now to be found, and when there will be, God only knows!

Art, & guides tout est dans les camps élysées.

La Fontaine.

What the old poet Melanthius says of Polygnotus (as he is cited by Plutarch in the life of Cimon) may with a little alteration be applied to these men in general; it is thus already translated.

This famous painter at his own expence
 Gave Athens beauty, and magnificence;
 New life to all the heroes did impart;
 Embellish'd all the temples with his art:
 The splendor of the state restor'd again:
 And so he did oblige both gods and men.

What still adds to the rarity of the excellent works we are speaking of is, their number must necessarily diminish by sudden accidents, or the slow, but certain injuries of time.

Another pleasure belonging to connoissance is when we find any thing particular and curious: As the first thoughts of a master for some remarkable picture. The original of a work of a great master, the copy of which we have already by some other considerable hand. A drawing of a picture, or after an antique very famous; or which is now lost; or when we make some new acquisition upon reasonable terms; chiefly when we get for ourselves something we much desired, but could not hope to be masters of; when we make some new discovery; something that improves our knowledge in connoissance or painting, or otherwise; and abundance of such like incidents, and which very frequently happens to a diligent connoisseur.

The

The pleasure that arises from the knowledge of hands is not like, or equal to that of the other parts of the business of a connoisseur; but neither is this destitute of it. When one sees an admirable piece of art, it is part of the entertainment to know to whom to attribute it, and then to know his history; which arises, I hope, from a natural justice in the human mind, that loves and desires to pay a little tribute of gratitude where it discovers it to be due to that merit of another which it is actually enjoying. The custom of putting the author's picture or life at the beginning of his book, is kindly giving us an opportunity of doing this.

When one is considering a picture or a drawing, and at the same time thinks this was done by him * who had many extraordinary endowments of body and mind, and was withal a virtuous man and a fine gentleman in his whole life, and still more at his death, expiring in the arms of one of the greatest princes of that age, Francis I. king of France, who loved him as a friend. Another is of † him who lived a long and happy life, beloved of the

* Leonardo da Vinci.

† Titian.

emperor Charles V. and many others of the first princes of Europe. When one has another in his hand, and thinks this was done by ‡ one who so excelled in three arts, as that any one of them, in that degree he possessed them all, had rendered him worthy of immortality; and who moreover dared to contend with his sovereign (one of the haughtiest popes ¶ that ever was) upon a slight offered to him, and extricated himself with honour.

Another is the work of that great self-formed, authentic genius, who was the model of all supernatural grace; who alone painted heaven, as surely it is; and hath represented to human weakness the angelic nature. This too by inspiration! not having had any master; or none but whom he left quite out of sight in the earliest progresses of his divine pencil. He even never saw the works of other great masters, having always confined himself to his native Lombardy, except one single one of Raphael; and a great one indeed that was; his St. Cecilia when brought to Bologna; and then, after considering it with long attention, and the admiration it deserved, he had the spirit (and he had a right to that spirit) to say; ‘Well,

‡ Michael Angelo Buonarotta.

¶ Julius II.

‘ I am

‘ I am a painter too.’ He was so little known to the rest of Italy, that he passed, till very lately, in the opinion of the world, for a low, poor, indigent creature; from the ill information or malice of Vasari, always prejudiced against the Lombard painters, when his character was rescued from its affected obscurity, and his noble birth and connections, and splendid wealth, asserted beyond all possibility of dispute by the indefatigable and learned industry of Lodovico Antonio David, a Milanese painter, and published at Bologna.

Another we shall consider as the work of * him who restored painting when it was almost sunk; of him whom his art made honourable; but who neglecting and despising greatness with a sort of cynical pride, was treated suitably to the figure he gave himself, not to his intrinsic merit; which not having philosophy enough to bear, it broke his heart. Another is performed by † one, who (on the contrary) was a fine gentleman, and lived in great magnificence, and was much honoured by his own and foreign princes; who was a courtier, a statesman, and a painter; and so much all these that when he acted in either character,

* Annibal Caracci.

† Rubens.

that

that seemed to be his business, and the others his diversion; when one thus reflects, besides the pleasure arising from the beauties and excellencies of the work, the fine ideas it gives us of natural things, the noble way of thinking one finds in it, and the pleasing thoughts it may suggest to us, an additional pleasure results from these reflections.

But oh the pleasure! when a connoisseur and lover of art, has before him a picture or drawing, of which he can say, this is the hand, these the thoughts of * him who was one of the politest, best-natured gentlemen that ever was; who was beloved and assisted by the greatest wits, and the greatest men then at Rome, at a time when politeness and all those arts which make life taste truly agreeable, were carried to a greater height than at any period since the reign of Augustus: of him who lived in great fame, honour, and magnificence, and died universally lamented; and even missed a cardinal's hat only by dying a few months too soon; but was, above all, highly esteemed and favoured by two popes, the only ones who filled the chair of St. Peter in his time. One (in short) who could have been a Lionardo, a Michael Angelo, a Titian, a Corregio, a Par-

* Raphael.

megiano,

megiano, an Annibal, a Rubens, or any other when he pleased, but none of them could ever have been a Raphael.

Such as Diana when she sprightly leads
 The dance on cool Eurota's flow'ry meads;
 Or when the goddess is delighted more
 To chase the stag, or skipping goat, she o're
 Huge Tagetus, or Erymanthus flies,
 Whilst hunter's musick echoes in the skies:
 A thousand wood-nymphs evermore are seen
 Surrounding, and exulting in their queen,
 But she distinguishable is from far,
 She taller, and more lovely does appear,
 Supremely bright where every one is fair.
 Her daughter chaste Latona saw, she smil'd,
 And with transcendent joy her heart was fill'd.

When we compare the hands and manners of one master with another, and those of the same man in different times: When we see the various turns of mind and excellencies; and, above all, when we observe what is well or ill in their works, as it is a worthy, so it is also a very delightful exercise of our rational faculties.

And there is one circumstance in it which ought not to be forgotten, and with which I will close this part of my argument. In law we are tied down to precedents; in phyſick it is dangerous treading untrodden paths; in divinity,

divinity, reason though flying before the wind with all her sails spread, must stop if an article of faith appears: But in this study she has her full course; the mind finds itself intirely at liberty, and with her plumes "winnows the buxom air" (to use Milton's stile.)

Sometimes
 She scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left,
 Now skims with level wing the deep, then soars
 Up to the empyræan tow'ring high.

This is a pleasure which none but thinking men can be sensible of; and such know it to be one of the greatest and most excellent they can enjoy.

S E C T. IV.

I fancy an author and a reader are as two people travelling together; if the book be in manuscript, the writer takes the other into his own calash; if it be printed, it is a common voiture. We have thus been in company longer than I expected, but are now entering upon the last day's journey. How my fellow traveller is affected I know not, but I confess I am pleased I am so near home.

It

It was formerly a trite saying among the Florentines (and may be so still for ought I know) “*Cosa fatta capo hà*; a thing done has “a head;” that is, till then it has no life, the main circumstance is wanting, it is good for little. I am always glad when I clap on the head to any thing I undertake, because then that affair is brought to the perfection I can give it; it is something; and then moreover I am at liberty for a new enterprize. When I am got to the end of the present work (and I am now come to the last general division of it) I shall have the satisfaction of having done what I could for my own improvement; for he that endeavours to give light to another in any matter strikes up some in his own mind, which would never otherwise have kindled there; and I shall enjoy a consciousness of having tried to be as useful to the public as my circumstances would enable me to be; I saw something of this kind was wanting, and did not perceive that it was very likely any one else would take the trouble of it. I have therefore offered my present thoughts on this new subject, and in as good a method as I could contrive. I am too sensible of the fallibility of human understanding, and of my own in particular, to be too well assured that I am right throughout; and shall be glad to better informed, if it appears that I am mistaken

taken in any thing material ; and I have some pretence to such a favour, having so freely communicated those lights I believed I had acquired, and that with no small labour and application, in a matter which I conceived might be of use to the world. To be mistaken is a sin of infirmity, which I pretend not to be exempt from ; to persist in the profession of an error after conviction, is the deadly sin, and which I hope I never shall commit.

We will now go on, and see what advantages connoissance brings along with it.

When I was representing the benefits that might accrue to the public by means of the art of painting and connoissance, I proved it had a natural tendency to reform our manners, refine our pleasures, and increase our wealth, power, and reputation. All these advantages every particular connoisseur will have, if prudence accompanies that character. As to the two former, no question can be made concerning them ; nor of the two latter, supposing we have those other, together with the improvement of our fortunes. Now, though it is true, a man may employ so much money this way, and in such a manner as may not be proportionable to his circumstances, nor proper, whatever those
are ;

are ; yet if (as I have said) prudence is mixed with connoissance, not only this inconvenience will be avoided, but the contrary advantage obtained ; for money may be as well laid out this way as in any other purchase whatsoever, it will be as improveable as an estate. There is moreover another advantage of connoissance, not an inconsiderable one, and that is, the pleasure it bestows will probably come in instead of others not only less virtuous, but more expensive.

As my discourse is addressed to gentlemen in general, I am not to insist upon those advantages which are peculiar to painters and sculptors, and such other artists as have relation to these ; which advantages are very important ; not so much from the knowledge of hands, and how to distinguish copies from originals ; (though these are something) but to know accurately to discover the beauties and defects of a picture or drawing, they must readily acknowledge will not a little contribute to their own improvement in their art : This however not being proper to be insisted on here I prosecute it no farther ; but leave it to be seriously considered by those concerned.

To

336 SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

To be a connoisseur is to have an accomplishment, which, though it is not yet reckoned amongst those absolutely necessary to a gentleman, he that possesses it is always respected and esteemed upon that account.

And, if it be considered what qualifications a good connoisseur must necessarily have, it will be found it cannot be otherwise. What beautiful ideas! clearly conceived, strongly retained, and artfully managed! What a solid and unbiaſſed judgment! What a fund of hiſtorical, poetical, and theological ſcience muſt he have; and which cannot fail by perpetually converſing with good pictures and drawings always to improve and increaſe! I will not go on to multiply particulars; he who has theſe in any tolerable degree will be allowed to have an accompliſhment which all gentlemen ought to have, and will be eſteemed accordingly.

When the Roman power was broken and diſſipated, and arts, empire, and common honeſty were ſucceeded by ignorance, ſuperſtition and prieſt-craft, the diſhonour of human nature was compleated; for it was begun long before in Greece and Aſia. In theſe miſerable times, and for ages afterwards, God knows there were no connoiſſeurs! to write and read

was then an accomplishment for a prince to value himself upon. As the species began to recover themselves, and to gain more strength, literature and painting also lifted up their heads, but however not equally; that degree of vigour that served to produce a Dante in writing, could rise no higher than a Giotto in painting.

Arts went on in this proportion till the happy age of Raphael; which was productive of several very great men in all kinds; and these parts of the world began to be re civilized.

Our own country

An old, and haughty nation, proud in arms.

MILTON.

shook off its Gothic rust, and began early to imitate its neighbours in politeness; in which it has already (for this revolution was but about two hundred years ago) equalled, if not gone beyond the rest in a great many instances. If we go on, the time will come when it shall be as dishonourable for a gentleman not to be a connoisseur, as now it is not to be able to read any other than his own language, or not to see the beauties of a good author.

Z

Painting

Painting is but another sort of writing; but, like the hieroglyphicks anciently, it is a character not for the vulgar; to read it is not only to know that it is such a story, or such a man, but to see the beauties of the thought and pencil, of the colouring and composition, the expression, grace and greatness that are to be found in it; and not to be able to do this, is a sort of illiterature and unpoliteness.

And accordingly in conversation (when as it frequently does) it turns upon painting, a gentleman who is a connoisseur is distinguished as one who hath wit and learning is, when these are the subject of discourse,

On the contrary, not to be a connoisseur on such occasions either silences a gentleman and hurts his character, or he makes a much worse figure in pretending to be what he is not to those who see his ignorance.* “See you not,” said Zeuxis to Megabydes priest of Diana, “that the boys that grind my colours, who whilst you are silent look upon you with respect because of the gold and purple of your garments, no sooner hear you talk of what you understand not, but they laugh at you.”

* *Ælian, Hist. Var. II. 2.*

Those who are connoisseurs have this farther advantage; and what an advantage! what a prerogative! In other cases as well as in this, and in far greater, they can judge for themselves; they will have no occasion to ask or rely on foreign judgment, like a blind man,

In power of others, never in their own.

MILTON.

Those who are connoisseurs, I repeat it, because there are some who fancy they are such, and are thought to be so by others; who nevertheless have no better pretence to this character than a superstitious bigot, or a hypocrite has to true piety. It is an observation (as I remember) of my lord Bacon, though it is no matter who has said it, if it be true, "That a little philosophy makes a man an atheist, a great deal a good christian:" So a little connoissance sets a man at a greater distance from the advantages of a true connoisseur than if he had none; if by his too good opinion of his own abilities, or the prejudices of his friends, or flattery of his dependents, he is persuaded to stop there, imagining that little is all. For such a one not only is very apt to make himself the subject of ridicule to the knowing, whatever he may appear to the ignorant; but besides, he lies open to those whose business it is to find

out, and profit themselves of such self-sufficient, abortive connoisseurs; who will be sure to believe themselves a match for them who are their superiors in this case, and consequently be over-powered by them; whereas he that has no opinion at all of his own strength will keep himself out of danger. Gentlemen must take care therefore that they do not suppose themselves to be connoisseurs too soon, and without principles and experience; especially if they undertake to collect, and pique themselves of hands and originals. Though, if I may have the honour to advise in this case, they should begin with no other view than to have the best things; the rest will fall in in time, and with observation and care, if they resolve to be complete connoisseurs in all respects.

At our first coming into the world we are but in a low degree even of animal life, growing up however to a more perfect one; and in a sort of probationary state towards rational being; as, when we arrive at this, we are candidates for a glorious immortality.

With time our strength increases naturally, and we become more considerable animals; and by observation and instruction every one acquires a certain share of art and science, partly
insensibly,

insensibly, and partly by direct application; in proportion to which we are advanced in the rational state.

To how minute an origin we owe
Young Ammon, Cæsar, and the great Nassau!

GARTH.

Homer and Milton once were not divine,
The hand of Raphael could not draw a line,
And Lock and Newton once had thoughts like mine.

But to what height soever it is possible for human nature to arrive, and howsoever extensive their capacity may be, every individual is a sort of centaur, a mixt creature; in some respects a rational being, in others a mere animal; like the whimsical picture Vasari speaks of in the life of Taddeo Zuccaro, and which he says was then in the collection of the cardinal di Monte; in some views you might see the portrait of Henry the second of France; in others the same face, but reversed; and in others a moon, and an anagramatical copy of verses. Every man, thus, may be considered in various lights; in one, where he hath sprung out the farthest length from the animal into the rational state; in another, where he has made less advances; and some, where he remains just where he was in his infancy.

However

However different we are from ourselves, or one man is from another, every man is an epitome of the whole species; the wisest among us is a fool in some things, as the lowest among men hath some just notions, and therein is as wise as Socrates; so that every man resembles a statue made to stand in a niche; on one side it is a Homer, a Plato, a Demosthenes; on the other, it is a rough unformed piece of stone.

For we have not abilities of body and mind, nor time sufficient allotted to any one of us to make any considerable progress in many paths, and by much the greater number stop short without being excellent in any one art or science, how mean soever it be.

Upon this account it is that we are excused if in many instances we are intirely ignorant; it is no reflection upon us if we are mere animals in some views, and depend upon other people, who also are low creatures in some respects, but noble beings in regard to such attainments in which we are defective; herein they are our superiors, our guides, our lords; they are rational beings, and we not, or but in an inferior degree. Thus we are all dependent upon each other to supply our single imperfection: But this is no otherwise an excuse than from the necessity

cessity of things; for it is unworthy a rational being to retain any one of the brute which he can possibly divest himself of.

As it is dishonourable, so it is inconvenient to be in a state of dependence and pupillage: Our condition approaches towards perfection in proportion as we have the necessaries and ornaments of life within ourselves, and need not to have recourse to foreign assistance; which cannot be had without parting with something of our own, judged to be equivalent: Besides, another man will rarely apply himself so diligently to my concerns as to his own, nor can I be assured of his integrity in any case; in some there is great reason to suspect it; and in some others it is even unreasonable to expect any man will open himself entirely to me.

It is true, a gentleman may be in such circumstances as permit him not (consistent with the character of a wise man) to apply himself to become a very good connoisseur: It is not to such as these, but to those many who have leisure and opportunity, I have been taking the liberty to recommend that study. Such as these
however

however may think fit to collect pictures or drawings; these have their uses and beauties, even to those who see them but superficially, and these circumstances may justify such a one in submitting to the direction and advice of another upon the best terms, and with as much prudence as he can, as in law, physic, or any other case: But it must be owned, that it is better, it is more for our honour and interest, if, as in all other cases, so in this, we are sufficiently qualified to judge for ourselves.

A man that thinks boldly, freely, and thoroughly; that stands upon his own legs, and sees with his own eyes, has a firmness and serenity of mind which he that is dependent upon others has not, or cannot reasonably have. Nor is he so liable to be imposed upon; whereas others are subject to be driven about by the breath of men, which is always blowing strongly from every point of the compass.

If any one tells a true connoisseur that such a picture or drawing of his is a copy, or not so good, or of so good a hand as he judges it to be; or if some say one thing, and some another,

other, though in times past this might have given him much uneasiness ; now, if he sees the incontestable marks of an original, the unquestionable characteristics of the hand, and judges of its goodness upon principles which he sees to be such as may be relied on, what is said to the contrary disturbs not him. So if a drawing or picture be offered him as being of the hand of the divine Raphael, if he is told there is undoubted or infallible tradition for its having been in the Arundel collection, and bought by my lord in Italy, but not till he had had it considered by the best judges there, and even examined in the academy of painters at Rome, in which there might probably have been some, at that time, old enough to have seen those who had seen Raphael ; or, as an Italian writer * in

* But what fidelity such relations have in general, we cannot sooner learn than from Eusebius, who, near the end of his third book, speaking of Papias, a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had seen and been acquainted with others of the apostles ; but being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines and fabulous conceits.—See the whole fine passage, Milton, Prelatical Episcopacy about the middle.

the hyperbolical stile of that nation says, “ had
 “ seen the Lord :” Yet if this judicious con-
 noisseur sees in it no fine thought, no just nor
 strong expression, no truth of drawing, no
 good composition, colouring, or handling; in
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 impose not on him; he knows it is not, it can-
 not possibly be of Raphael.



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